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CONTENTS OF PART II.

Page.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN MINNESOTA, 1655-56, AND 1659-60, AND THEIR DISCOVERY OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER, BY THE SECRETARY, WARREN UPHAM 449-594

Publication of Radisson's manuscripts 449

Biographic sketches of Groseilliers and Radisson 450

Peculiarities of Radisson's writings 453

Agreements and discrepancies with other records 455

Chronology of the four expeditions 456

Narrative of the first western expedition 458

The year 1655-56 at Prairie island 462

Agriculture of the Indians 467

Public council in the spring of 1656 470

The return to Quebec 473

Account in the Jesuit Relation of 1655-56 474

Radisson's excursions in the summer of 1655 477

Narrative of the second western expedition 479

Fort at Chequamegon bay 484

Starvation in winter 487

Dealings with the Sioux and the Crees 492

Fictitious journey to Hudson bay 508

The return to Montreal and Three Rivers 514

Accounts in the Jesuit Relation and Journal 517

Observations of the Indian tribes 519

Iroquois 520

Hurons 522

Ottawas 526

Winnebagoes 528

Ojibways 528

Sioux 530

Crees 535

Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi river 538

Vespucci, 1498 540

Pineda, 1519 542

Narvaez, 1528 544

De Soto, 1541-42 545

Groseilliers and Radisson, 1655-60 552

Joliet and Marquette, 1673 553

Hennepin and Duluth, 1680 554

Page.
La Salle, 1682 556
Le Sueur, 1683-1700 558
History of Prairie island 561
Services of Groseilliers and Radisson for the Hudson Bay Company 563
To Whom belongs the Honor of Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River and Minnesota? 564
Chronologic Summary 565
Bibliography 568
Conclusion 594

A Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863, by Gabriel Renville 595-618
The outbreak at the Yellow Medicine Agency 595
Efforts to aid the white captives 599
Battle of Birch Coolie 602
Council addressed by Little Paul and Little Crow 603
Battle of Wood Lake 606
Rescue of the captives 608
Trial and execution of Indian prisoners 608
Sioux camp at Fort Snelling 610
Friendly Indians appointed as scouts 611
Beginning of Sibley's expedition, 1863 612
Indian scouts in this expedition 613
First meeting with the hostile Sioux 613

Biographic Sketch of Chief Gabriel Renville, by Samuel J. Brown 614

The Work of the Second State Legislature, 1859-60, by the President, Gen. John B. Sanborn 619-633

The Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, by Edward A. Bromley 635-643

Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River, by Captain Edward W. Durant 645-675
The river and its tributaries 647
First steps in development of the lumber industry 648
The early sawmills 649
The later mills and their production 652
Stillwater mills 655
St. Louis mills 657
Pioneer lumbermen 658
Large buyers of St. Croix logs 659
Rafting logs and lumber 663

Page.
Pilots 665
Steamboats 666
Steamboat building 670
The giant St. Croix boom 672
Scenery of the St. Croix lake and river 672
Statistics 673

MINNESOTA'S EASTERN, SOUTHERN AND WESTERN BOUNDARIES, by ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL 677-687

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF BISHOP HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE, AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 14, 1901 689-720

THE WORK OF BISHOP WHIPPLE IN MISSIONS FOR THE INDIANS, by HON. CHARLES E. FLANDRAU 691

BISHOP WHIPPLE AND THE SCHOOLS AT FARIBAULT, by REV. GEORGE C. TANNER 697

BISHOP WHIPPLE AS A CITIZEN OF MINNESOTA, by HON. GREENLEAF CLARK 708

BISHOP WHIPPLE AS A MEDIATOR FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIANS IN TREATIES, by GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN 713

THE WORK OF BISHOP WHIPPLE FOR THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, by REV. WILLIAM C. POPE 716

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY, AT MEETINGS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., SEPTEMBER 3 AND 14, 1903 721-766

ALEXANDER RAMSEY, A MEMORIAL EULOGY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1903, by GEN. JAMES H. BAKER 723-743

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES, PRESENTED SEPTEMBER 14, 1903 745-766
By Hon. Greenleaf Clark 745
Resolutions adopted 747
By Ex-Governor Lucius F. Hubbard 748
By Ex-Governor Andrew R. McGill 750
By Governor Van Sant 753
By Archbishop Ireland 754
By Hon. F. C. Stevens 755
By Mr. Henry S. Fairchild 758
By Mr. A. L. Larpenteur 760
By Mrs. Vinnie Ream Hoxie 761
By Gen. James H. Baker 762
By the Secretary, Mr. Warren Upham 765

Page.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF JUDGE CHARLES E. FLANDRAU, AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 9, 1903 767-830

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, by THE PRESIDENT, GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN 769

THE LIFE AND INFLUENCE OF JUDGE FLANDRAU, by HON. GREENLEAF CLARK 771

JUDGE FLANDRAU IN THE DEFENSE OF NEW ULM DURING THE SIOUX OUTBREAK OF 1862, by MAJOR SALMON A. BUELL..... 783
First news of the outbreak 784
Organization of volunteers for defense 785
The first attack at New Ulm..... 786
Flandrau as commander and his staff..... 789
New Ulm as a strategic point 791
Scouting expedition 791
Beginning of the battle on Saturday 793
Number of the Sioux engaged in the attack..... 796
Later part of the battle 797
Instances of bravery 801
A night of anxiety..... 803
The battle continued on Sunday 805
Arrival of reinforcements 807
Care of the sick and wounded 808
Evacuation of New Ulm 809
Comparison of the battles of this Indian war 812
Advantages gained by the defense of New Ulm 816

JUDGE FLANDRAU AS A CITIZEN AND JURIST, by WILLIAM H. LIGHTNER 819

ADDRESS by HON. JOSEPH A. ECKSTEIN, CITY ATTORNEY OF NEW ULM 829

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF GENERAL JOHN B. SANBORN, AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 10, 1904 831-856

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, by THE PRESIDENT, HON. GREENLEAF CLARK 833

THE LIFE AND WORK OF GENERAL SANBORN, by GEN. HENRY W. CHILDS 838

WILLIAM HOLCOME, by MRS. ANDREW E. KILPATRICK..... 857-861

MOSES SHERBURNE, by SIMEON MILLS HAYES..... 863-866

Page.
DECEASED MEMBERS OF THIS SOCIETY, 1901-1904 867-876
George Loomis Becker 867
Douglas Brymner 867
Richard C. Burdick 867
James Henry Dunn 868
John Fiske 868
Charles Eugene Flandrau 868
Alpheus G. Fuller 868
Charles Duncan Gilfillan 869
Julius M. Goldsmith 869
William Henry Grant 869
Joseph Jackson Howard 869
Richard Marvin 870
Henry Lawrence Moss 870
Peter Neff 870
Renssalaer Russell Nelson 870
Theodore Sutton Parvin 871
Frank Hutchinson Peavey 871
Emerson William Peet 871
John Sargent Pillsbury 871
Pennock Pusey 872
Alexander Ramsey 872
Lathrop Edward Reed 873
Daniel Rohrer 873
Dwight May Sabin 873
John Benjamin Sanborn 873
Frank Bailey Semple 874
John B. Spencer 874
Benjamin Franklin Stevens 874
Hiram Fairchild Stevens 874
John Summers 875
Robert Ormsby Sweeney 875
Joseph Farrand Tuttle 875
Henry Benjamin Whipple 875
Eli Trumbull Wilder 876
Henry L. Williams 876

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF VOLUMES I-X 877-891

PERSONAL INDEX OF VOLUMES I-IX 892-914

INDEX OF VOLUME X 915-938

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PART II.

		Page.
PLATE XIII.	Map Showing the Routes of Groseilliers and Radisson, and the Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River	449
XIV.	The Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony	635
XV.	Portrait of Captain Edward W. Durant	645
XVI.	Portrait of Bishop Henry B. Whipple	688
XVII.	Portrait of Governor Alexander Ramsey	721
XVIII.	Portrait of Gen. James H. Baker	745
XIX.	Portrait of Judge Charles E. Flandrau	767
XX.	Portrait of Major Salmon A. Buell	783
XXI.	Portrait of Gen. John B. Sanborn	831
XXII.	Portrait of Lieut. Gov. William Holcombe	857
XXIII.	Portrait of Judge Moses Sherburne	863

MAP SHOWING THE ROUTES OF GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, AND THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN MINNESOTA, 1655-56, AND 1659-60, AND THEIR DISCOVERY OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER.*

BY THE SECRETARY, WARREN UPHAM.

Publication of Radisson's Manuscripts.

The narratives of the earliest travels and exploration by Europeans within the area that is now Minnesota, written by one of the two hardy adventurers whose experiences are there chronicled, remained unknown to historians during more than two hundred years. This precious manuscript record, beginning the history of the occupation of our state by white men, is said by its editor, Gideon D. Scull, of London, to have been "for some time the property of Samuel Pepys, the well-known diarist, and Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles II and James II. He probably received it," as the editor further states, "from Sir George Cartaret, the Vice-Chamberlain of the King and Treasurer of the Navy, for whom it was no doubt carefully copied out from his rough notes by the author, so that it might, through him, be brought under the notice of Charles II. Some years after the death of Pepys, in 1703, his collection of manuscripts was dispersed and fell into the hands of various London tradesmen, who bought parcels of it to use in their shops as waste-paper. The most valuable portions were carefully reclaimed by the celebrated collector, Richard Rawlinson." The papers relating the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson to the upper Laurentian lakes and the upper Mississippi river came into the possession of the

*Read at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 13, 1902, and the monthly meetings of the Executive Council, March 11 and May 13, 1901, and March 10 and October 13, 1902.

Bodleian Library, at Oxford University; and other manuscripts, relating their service later for the Hudson Bay Company, were purchased by the British Museum.

In these two largest libraries of England, the quaint narratives of Radisson rested in quiet until less than twenty years ago they were published by the Prince Society of Boston, which is devoted to the preservation and publication of rare original documents relating to early American history. The title-page reads as follows: "Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With Historical Illustrations and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1885." It is a small quarto book of 385 pages. The edition was limited to two hundred and fifty copies, one of which is in the Library of this Historical Society, and another in the Duluth Public Library.

By this book Groseilliers and Radisson are made known to the world as the first Europeans to reach the upper Mississippi and to traverse parts of Minnesota. It is a source of much regret, however, that Radisson is found to claim more discoveries than can be true. His narration, besides being very uncouth in style, is exceedingly deficient in dates, sometimes negligent as to the sequence of events, and even here and there discordant and demonstrably untruthful. Therefore much discussion has arisen concerning its significance and historical value.

Biographic Sketches of Groseilliers and Radisson.

Previous to this publication, history had a general outline of the achievements of these remarkable men, who were brothers-in-law, close friends, and lifelong companions in various enterprises demanding great courage and endurance.

Medard Chouart, more commonly known by his assumed title Sieur des Groseilliers,* was born in France, probably near Meaux, in 1621. At the age of twenty years, or perhaps three or four years earlier, he came to Canada. During several years, until

*See the remarks of Dr. Douglas Brymner on this name, as quoted in the Bibliography near the end of this paper.

1646, he was in the service of the Jesuits as a layman helper in their missions to the Indians, and thus learned the Huron and Algonquin languages. Afterward he was a fur trader, probably making yearly trips to the country of the Hurons. In 1647 he married Helene, a daughter of Abraham Martin, from whom the historic Plains of Abraham at Quebec received their name. His wife died in 1651, and two years later he married Marguerite, a sister of Radisson. Thenceforward these brothers-in-law were closely associated in important explorations and extension of trade with the Indians of the Northwest and the region of Hudson bay.

Pierre Esprit Radisson was also born in France, probably at St. Malo, a seaport of Brittany. In 1651, at the age of only fifteen or sixteen years, he came to Canada, and lived with his parents at Three Rivers. Previously he had seen Paris, London, Italy, and Turkey, being probably a sailor. In England and from English sailors he may have acquired our language in boyhood, which he afterward wrote with such facility of colloquial and idiomatic expression, in the narratives published by the Prince Society.

The next year after his arrival in Canada, Radisson was captured by a roving band of the Iroquois, with whom he lived about a year in their country, on the Mohawk river. Escaping to Fort Orange (now Albany), he reached New Amsterdam (now New York), and sailed to Holland and thence to Rochelle, France. In the spring of 1654 he returned to Three Rivers in Canada. This captivity is the first of the four "voyages" of Radisson narrated in the published volume.

During the next six years, from 1654 to 1660, Groseilliers and Radisson made two expeditions for exploration and traffic in furs, going farther westward than any white man preceding them. In these expeditions, called voyages by Radisson, they passed beyond the upper great lakes, Michigan and Superior, penetrating to the area of Minnesota; and the narration asserts that in the second expedition they traveled to Hudson bay.

When they returned from the second western expedition, which had been undertaken without permission from the Governor of Canada, he imposed heavy fines upon them, and a duty of 25 per cent. on the value of their furs, together amounting,

says Radisson, to 24,000 pounds.* To seek redress for this injustice, Groseilliers went to France, but his appeal was in vain. They next entered the service of Boston merchants, and sailed in a New England ship to Hudson strait in the autumn of 1663; but, on account of the lateness of the season, the captain refused to advance into Hudson bay, where they designed to establish trading posts.

In 1665, having laid their plans for trade in the Hudson Bay region before commissioners of the King of Great Britain, whom he had sent to New York and New England, Groseilliers and Radisson went with one of these commissioners, Sir George Cartwright, to England. Under the patronage of Charles II, they aided in founding the Hudson Bay Company, which received its charter in 1670. The commercial power which they would have preferred to bestow on their own country was thus given to Great Britain.

Radisson about this time married an English wife, the daughter of John Kirke, who became one of the directors of this company.

In 1674, because of a dispute with the Hudson Bay Company, Groseilliers and Radisson transferred their allegiance again to France, and through the next ten years were active in advancing French colonization and commerce. In their renewed loyalty, they endeavored to supplant the English in the Hudson Bay trade by building a French trading post on the Nelson river, near its mouth, and there captured a New England ship.

During the consequent negotiations, however, between the French and English governments, Groseilliers and Radisson considered themselves unjustly treated by the French court; and, being welcomed back by the directors of the Hudson Bay Company, Radisson once more entered their service. According to his own words, he then, in May, 1684, "passed over to England for good, and of engaging myself so strongly to the service of his Majesty, and to the interests of the Nation, that any other consideration was never able to detach me from it."

Groseilliers, on the contrary, declined to accept the salary or pension offered to him by the Hudson Bay Company, "twenty shillings per week, if he came from France over to Britain and be true." Here the brothers-in-law were separated, after

*This was probably meant by Radisson for so many livres, or only about 1,000 pounds, as explained in the later part of this paper where the full quotation appears.

thirty years of most intimate association. Nothing further is known of Groseilliers, and it seems probable that he died not long afterward in Canada.

The life of Radisson after this second desertion from France has been recently traced by Prof. George Bryce, through his researches in the archives of the Hudson Bay Company in London. Having sailed from England in May, 1684, Radisson traitorously took possession of the chief French trading post of Hudson bay, on the Hayes river, compelling his nephew, the son of Groseilliers, to surrender the post, which was under his command, with a vast quantity (twenty thousand) of valuable peltries that had been collected there. These furs were sold in England for 7,000 pounds. Radisson voyaged later, in 1685, and also in 1687 and 1688, to Hudson bay for this company, and he received a pension from it, affording a scanty means of living for himself and his family, until the beginning of the year 1710. As the pension then ceased, it is inferred that he died, probably in London or its vicinity, before the next quarterly date for payment, his age being seventy-four years.

Peculiarities of Radisson's Writings.

The editor states in his introduction to Radisson's narratives: "All his manuscripts have been handed down in perfect preservation. They are written out in a clear and excellent handwriting, showing the writer to have been a person of good education."

The president of the Prince Society, in his preface of the same volume, says: "The narratives contained in it are the record of events and transactions in which the author was a principal actor. They were apparently written without any intention of publication, and are plainly authentic and trustworthy . . . . The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the English language. The journals, with the exception of the last in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, and in the structure of sentences, conform to no known standard of English composition. But the meaning is in all cases clearly conveyed, and, in justice both to the author and reader, they have been printed *verbatim et literatim,* as in the original manuscripts."

By extracts given further on, describing the two expeditions to Minnesota, the style of Radisson's writing will be well shown. Many parts of the narration where we should wish quite complete statement are given very briefly or omitted entirely. Other parts, on the contrary, have a fullness of garrulous detail which brings to view very vividly the many adventures, hardships and dangers encountered among the savages, with frequent descriptions of their manner of life in the wigwam, in their rude agriculture, in the hunt, on the war path, and in councils of public deliberation. The details are everywhere consistent with the now well known characteristics of these Indian tribes, and they thus bear decisive testimony that the narrator had actual experience by living long among them.

Radisson had a very thorough familiarity with homely, apt and forcible expressions of our English language, such as could only have been acquired by living with English-speaking people, certainly not merely from school studies or books. It is probable, as before stated, that he had learned this language before going to Canada; but later, by his life in New England and in the service of Boston merchants during the years from 1661 to 1664, he had doubtless added greatly to his acquaintance with the vernacular.

The narratives of the four land expeditions, which are called by Radisson "voyages," appear to have been written in 1665, with a slight addition three years later, their purpose being to promote the interests of the two adventurers when first seeking alliance with the English for establishing trade with Hudson bay. The writer took especial care to show the great prospective commercial advantages of opening the fur trade with new regions at the north, and of gaining possession by colonies in the vast fertile country of lake Michigan and the upper Mississippi region.

That the routes and localities of the farthest western explorations by Groseilliers and Radisson, and of their councils with the Indians to establish the fur trade in the area of Minnesota, have not been earlier fully studied out and ascertained, is doubtless attributable mainly to deficiencies of Radisson's narratives; but also must in part be ascribed to the limitation of their publication, in an edition of two hundred and fifty copies, of which only two are in Minnesota. Only three or four students of his-

tory in this state have made careful examination of this book; and these studies, with those of other historians in Wisconsin and elsewhere, have gradually brought us to the results stated in the present paper. Very recently an essential clue for identification of the locality of greatest interest in the second of these expeditions to Minnesota has been supplied by Hon. J. V. Brower, who finds that Knife lake and river, in Kanabec county, were so named because there the Sioux of the Mille Lacs region first obtained iron and steel knives from white men, thence also receiving themselves the name of Isanti or Knife Sioux, by which they were known to Du Luth and Hennepin.

Agreements and Discrepancies with Other Records.

The two western expeditions are paralleled by the *Jesuit Relations,* which were yearly reports of the progress of missionary work, including also many incidental references to other Canadian history. Another contemporary record, the *Journal of the Jesuits* for the year 1660, contains a very interesting detailed statement of the return of these travelers and traders from their second trip west, accompanied by three hundred Indians, and bringing a rich freight of furs. The Relations for 1660 mention two Frenchmen returning at this time, with similar details of their expedition, as the return of two Frenchmen was also noted by the Relations for 1656; but in both instances they refrain from giving the names of these daring and successful explorers. In the Journal we are informed that Groseilliers was one of the two returning from the second of these expeditions.

Henry Colin Campbell, of Wisconsin, who has very carefully studied the chronology of this subject, writes: "Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it would not be easy to find three distinct accounts of one expedition into a strange country that tallied more closely than do the accounts of that voyage to lake Superior which we find in the *Jesuit Relations,* the *Journal of the Jesuits,* and Radisson's *Journal.* The return of Radisson and Groseilliers from their second trip, the one to lake Superior, in August, 1660, is thus fully proven."

The duration of the first expedition west, in which Radisson claims to have traveled far southward, to a latitude where "it

never snows nor freezes, but is mighty hot," he asserts to have been three years; but the Jesuit Relations state distinctly that the expedition which returned in 1656 had occupied only two years. In this discrepancy we must certainly rely on the Relations as truthful, for reasons to be presently more fully explained. When the fictitious year, as it may be called, is eliminated from this expedition, taking away the pretended journey to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the remaining narration of Radisson for the two years actually spent in the region of lake Michigan and on Prairie island seems entirely trustworthy, bearing many and indubitable evidences of its truth.

Comparing this narration with the Jesuit Relations, Campbell well summarizes the general agreement as follows: "Our two Frenchmen, like the nameless Frenchmen of 1654-1656, visited the Pottawatamies and the Maskoutens, the latter in the interior of Wisconsin. Radisson and Groseilliers, like the two nameless Frenchmen, were delayed in returning the first spring by the Indians. Their return, likewise, caused great joy in the colony, and salvos of artillery were also fired in their honor from the battlements of Quebec. We have already observed that the whereabouts of Radisson and Groseilliers from 1654 to 1656 can be accounted for in no other way than by making them identical with the two nameless Frenchmen; and, moreover, Radisson and Groseilliers, if they were the two nameless Frenchmen, would have had a year in which to rest, after their return, as Radisson says that they did."

Very instructive and satisfactory discussion of contemporaneous records and historical dates in their relationship to these narratives, and of the discrepancies in Radisson's account of the first western voyage, is given, with citation of the original sources of comparison and a good bibliography of the considerable literature concerning these explorers, by Campbell in his several papers published a few years ago.

Chronology of the Four Expeditions.

In writing of the western expeditions, which most interest us because they extended to the area of Minnesota, Radisson seldom exactly noted the date of any event by the month and never by the number of the year. Much confusion has arisen, there-

fore, among historians in determining the years when these expeditions took place.

Some authors, as Scull, the editor of the Prince Society's volume, Dionne, the librarian of the Legislature of Quebec, Sulte, in his recent elaborate studies of this subject, Dr. Edward D. Neill, R. G. Thwaites, and Prof. George Bryce, have held that the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson terminated in 1660, being the second of the two mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1656 and 1660. They consequently refer the second western trip narrated by Radisson to the years 1661-63, or to 1662-64.

Others, including Campbell, before quoted, the late Alfred J. Hill and Hon. J. V. Brower (in Volume VII of this Society's Historical Collections), and the late honored and beloved Captain Russell Blakeley, vice president of this Historical Society (in Volume VIII of the same series), with most ample reasons consider the two western voyages of these explorers to be identical with those reported in the Relations, terminating respectively in 1656 and 1660. This view is so clearly set forth by Campbell that it must be confidently accepted; indeed, the accurately known records in these narratives and other contemporaneous writings prove it conclusively.

Radisson's captivity with the Iroquois, called his first voyage, was, as we have seen, in 1652 and 1653, his first and second years after coming to Canada. Having escaped to France and thence come back to his home at Three Rivers early in 1654, he set out in the summer of that year with his brother-in-law on their first voyage to the far west, from which they returned in 1656.

During the interval following, before the second voyage west, Radisson went to the Onondaga settlement in the central part of the area of New York state; and this expedition, called by him "the Second Voyage made in the Upper Country of the Iroquoits," occupied nearly a year, from July, 1657, to March or April, 1658. It is placed second by Radisson in his series of narrations; and he explicitly says that the earliest western expedition was undertaken afterward.

He may have considered the geographic relationship more important than that of time, therefore placing the two Iroquois trips together, and the two in the far west likewise together; but

he ought not to have said definitely, in so many words, that the first western trip followed the second among the Iroquois. By this arrangement of his writings, with the accompanying misstatement, Radisson misled Scull and others in respect to their chronologic order. It is to be remembered, however, in palliation of the falsehood, that a high regard for continual veracity in historical authorship, especially among travelers and explorers in the New World, was less common then, and was more likely to pass undetected for a long period, than at the present time.

Narrative of the First Western Expedition.

The title or caption given by Radisson at the beginning of this narrative reads: "Now followeth the Auxoticiat Voyage into the Great and filthy Lake of the Hurrons, Upper Sea of the East, and Bay of the North." It occupies pages 134 to 172 in the publication by the Prince Society. No title is given for the second voyage west, which ensues in pages 173 to 247; and we must extend the references to the Upper Sea (lake Superior) and the Bay of the North (Hudson bay) to apply to that later western expedition. The great importance of the discovery of the upper Mississippi river was neglected in the title, doubtless because the more northern region of Hudson bay, easy to be reached by English ships, promised larger and earlier pecuniary profits in commerce.

Groseilliers and Radisson, voyaging in birch canoes with a small company of Hurons and Ottawas, came to lake Huron by the usual route of the Ottawa river and lake Nipissing. Their Indian escort then divided, and a part went with the French travelers southward around Georgian bay and lake Huron to Bois Blanc island and the strait of Mackinac. The first autumn and winter were spent in visiting from tribe to tribe in the region of Mackinac and Green bay. "I liked noe country," says Radisson, "as I have that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty; viz. staggs, fishes in abundance, & all sort of meat, corne enough." He says of lake Huron:

> The coast of this lake is most delightfull to the minde. The lands smooth, and woods of all sorts. In many places there are many large open fields where in, I believe, wildmen formerly lived before the destruc-

tion of the many nations which did inhabit, and took more place then 600 leagues about.

Lake Michigan, with its surrounding forests and prairies and Indian tribes, appeared even more fascinating to Radisson's enraptured and prophetic vision. He wrote of it in an ecstasy:

We embarked ourselves on the delightfullest lake of the world. I took notice of their Cottages & of the journeys of our navigation, for because that the country was so pleasant, so beautifull & fruitfull that it grieved me to see that the world could not discover such inticing countrys to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, or for a sterill land and horrid country, that the people sent heere or there by the changement of the aire ingenders sicknesse and dies thereof. Contrarywise those kingdoms are so delicious & under so temperat a climat, plentifull of all things, the earth bringing foorth its fruit twice a yeare, the people live long & lusty & wise in their way. What conquest would that bee att litle or no cost; what laborinth of pleasure should millions of people have, instead that millions complaine of misery & poverty!

So carried away was our author by his zeal to show to England the excellence of this fertile and vast interior of our continent that he yielded to the temptation to describe as actually seen by himself the far southward continuation of the same country, beyond the limits of his travels, but known to him by accounts of the roving Indians. To give time for this pretended southern exploration, Radisson here interpolated a fictitious year.

Attentively persuing the narrative, I am impressed with the lack of details of journeys and experiences during the time between the first and second winters of Radisson's three years. He seems to have fabricated the story of that year, drawing his general descriptions of the southern half of lake Michigan and the vast region beyond from what he could learn in conversation with the red men. He understood the Algonquian languages, and these people and their southern neighbors had occasional intercourse and travel from tribe to tribe, so that among the aboriginal ornaments and amulets in Minnesota and Manitoba were sea shells from the Gulf of Mexico. The implied voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson far down the Mississippi may therefore be rejected.

It is known with certainty that Radisson returned from France, after his Iroquois captivity, in the spring of 1654; and it

seems also certain that he and Groseilliers returned to Quebec from their first western expedition in 1656. Therefore it appears clearly impossible that this expedition could have occupied a longer time than the two years which the Jesuit Relations accredit to it. The meagerness, vagueness, and misconceptions of the narration for the fictitious year will appear by the following quotations:

> We meet with severall nations, all sedentary, amazed to see us, & weare very civil. The further we sejourned the delightfuller the land was to us. I can say that [in] my lifetime I never saw a more incomparable country, for all I have ben in Italy; yett Italy comes short of it, as I think, when it was inhabited, & now forsaken of the wildmen. Being about the great sea [lake Michigan or the Gulf of Mexico?], we conversed with people that dwelleth about the salt water, who tould us that they saw some great white thing sometimes uppon the water, & came towards the shore, & men in the top of it, and made a noise like a company of swans; which made me believe that they weare mistaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniard; and the reason is that we found a barill broken as they use in Spaine.

Evidently Radisson intended here, in saying that they found a Spanish barrel, to convey the impression that they came to the Gulf coast; as also he almost surely meant by "the great sea." It is very significant, however, that he does not here allude to the great river Mississippi, on which route they would necessarily have come to that coast and returned from it by several weeks of laborious canoeing. His narration is thus like the playbill announcing "the tragedy of Hamlet, the character of the Prince of Denmark being left out."

Radisson continues in the same paragraph to describe the people there, with similar erroneous comprehension, based on hearsay that he partly miscontrued, as follows:

> Those people have their haires long. They reap twice a yeare; they are called Tatarga, that is to say, buff. They warre against Nadoneceronons [the Sioux], and warre also against the Christionos [the Crees]. These 2 doe no great harme to one another, because the lake is between both. They are generally stout men, that they are able to defend themselves. They come but once a year to fight. If the season of the yeare had permitted us to stay, for we intended to goe backe the yeare following, we had indeavoured to make peace betweene them. We had not as yett seene the nation Nadoneceronons. We had hurrons with us. Wee per-

suaded them to come along to see their owne nation that fled there, but they would not by any means. We thought to gett some castors [beavers' skins] there to bring downe to the ffrench, seeing [it] att last impossible to us to make such a circuit in a twelve month's time. We weare every where much made of; neither wanted victualls, for all the different nations that we mett conducted us & furnished us with all necessaries. Tending to those people, went towards the South & came back by the north.

The Summer passed away with admiration by the diversity of the nations that we saw, as for the beauty of the shore of that sweet sea [i. e., great lake of fresh water]. Heere we saw fishes of divers, some like the sturgeons & have a kind of slice att the end of their nose some 3 fingers broad in the end and 2 onely neere the nose, and some 8 thumbs long, all marbled of a blakish collor [the shovel-nosed sturgeon]. There are birds whose bills are two and 20 thumbs long. That bird [the pelican] swallows a whole salmon, keeps it a long time in his bill. We saw also shee-goats very bigg. There is an animal somewhat lesse than a cow whose meat is exceeding good. There is no want of Staggs nor Buffes. There are so many Tourkeys that the boys throws stoanes att them for their recreation. . . Most of the shores of the lake is nothing but sand. There are mountains [sand dunes] to be seene farre in the land. There comes not so many rivers from [into] that lake as from others: these that flow from it are deeper and broader, the trees are very bigg, but not so thick. There is a great distance from one another, & a quantitie of all sorts of fruits, but small. The vines grows all by the river side; the lemons are not so bigg as ours, and sowrer. The grape is very bigg, greene, is seene there att all times. It never snows nor freezes there, but mighty hot; yett for all that the country is not so unwholsom, ffor we seldom have seene infirmed people.

It seems probable that a part of Radisson's information of the fauna, notably his reference to "shee-goats very bigg," belongs to the Rocky mountains, rather than the country of lake Michigan and the Mississippi, which he is endeavoring to describe. His idea that the tribes of the far south, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, habitually sent war parties each year into the country of the Sioux and the Crees, the latter living, then as now, north and northwest of lake Superior, presents most decisive internal evidence that the narration of this year was gathered only from hearsay, for which, as we shall see, Radisson had splendid opportunity in his very long hunting excursion with the savages during the summer of 1655, starting from and returning to Prairie island.

When we come to Radisson's account of that next year, following his apparent fiction so vaguely and blunderingly told, he

resumes his accustomed definiteness of details, telling us that in the early spring, before the snow and ice were gone, which forbade the use of canoes, these Frenchmen, with about a hundred and fifty men and women of the native tribes, traveled almost fifty leagues on snowshoes, coming to a riverside where they spent three weeks in making boats. This journey was, if I rightly identify it, from the vicinity of Green bay, in eastern Wisconsin, across that state to the Mississippi, reaching this river near the southeast corner of Minnesota or somewhat farther south, perhaps coming by a route not far from the canoe route of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Thence they voyaged eight days up the river on which their boats had been made, to villages of two tribes, probably in the vicinity of Winona, where they obtained meal and corn, which supplied this large company until they "came to the first landing isle."

THE YEAR 1655-56 AT PRAIRIE ISLAND.

The description indicates that the voyageurs passed along lake Pepin and upward to the large Isle Pelée (or Bald island), now called Prairie island, on the Minnesota side of the main river channel a few miles above Red Wing. On this island, which derived its names, both in French and English, from its being mostly a prairie, a large number of Hurons and Ottawas, fleeing from their enemies, the Iroquois, had recently taken refuge, and had begun the cultivation of corn. Their harvest the preceding year, on newly worked land, was small; but much corn would be needed for food during the long journey thence to Quebec with beaver skins, which canoe voyage, requiring a month or more, Groseilliers and Radisson wished to begin soon after their arrival at the island. They were obliged to remain till the next year, and Groseilliers spent the summer on Prairie island and in its vicinity, one of his chief objects being to provide a large supply of corn for the return journey. Meanwhile Radisson went with hunting parties, and traveled "four months . . . without doing anything but go from river to river." He was enamored of the beauty and fertility of the country, and was astonished at its herds of buffaloes and antelopes, flocks of pelicans, and the shovel-nosed sturgeon, all of which he particularly

described. Such was the first year, 1655, of observations and exploration by white men in Minnesota, and their earliest navigation of the upper part of the Mississippi river. Accompanied by several hundred Hurons and other Algonquins, and carrying a most welcome freight of furs, Groseilliers and Radisson returned to Montreal and Quebec in August, 1656. Their stay at Prairie island covered the period from April or May, 1655, to June, 1656, about fourteen months.

My identification, as thus stated, of Radisson's "first landing isle," according with a suggestion of Campbell, differs widely from the view taken by the late Captain Blakeley in his paper presented several years ago to this Society, published in Volume VIII of its Historical Collections. He thought that island to be probably in lake Saganaga, on the northern boundary of Minnesota. Therefore it becomes needful to give here quite explicitly the six chief reasons for my assertion in favor of Prairie island. These may be received as conclusive, while yet indulging much leniency toward other views, because even the Indian geographic names, and also the direction of journeys, as northward, or southward, are generally wanting in the crude account of these earliest explorations in a previously unknown region.

First, the geographic features and distances of the route from Green bay or lake Winnebago to the Mississippi, and up this river to Prairie island, seem to me harmonious with Radisson's narration; but, on the contrary, the route by lake Superior and northward to Saganaga lake differs greatly from what is narrated of the snowshoe and canoe journeys.

Second, many of the Hurons and Ottawas, escaping from their foes, the fierce Iroquois, are known, by other and contemporaneous historical testimony, to have fled to the Mississippi and settled at Prairie island about this time; and the narration shows that the Indians who are said to have come newly there were Huron refugees. These Indians never penetrated to the far northern and cold country beyond lake Superior.

Third, the cool climate and predominantly rocky land of our northern boundary from lake Superior to the mouth of Rainy lake, with the altitude of Saganaga lake, 1,434 feet above the sea, and the small size and very rocky surface of its many islands, make corn-raising there, on a large scale, quite impossible; where-

as the extensive Prairie island, 670 to 735 feet above the sea, and situated three and a half degrees farther south, with an easily cultivated and very productive alluvial soil, is by nature most admirably adapted for the primitive agriculture of the aborigines and for their most valuable crop, Indian corn.

Fourth, Radisson distinctly says that in starting toward the great river and its "first landing isle," they bade farewell to the Indians of the Sault Ste. Marie and of the North.

Fifth, he also states that in the region of that island beavers were not so plentiful as "in the north part," showing clearly that they were then farther south than during the preceding winter, which they had spent about the northern end of lake Michigan.

Sixth, the journey of return from that island was first to the south and then to the north. This description applies to the canoe voyage from Prairie island southward down the Mississippi, and then northward up the Wisconsin river and down the Fox river to Green bay. It could not describe any route of return from lake Saganaga.

No other locality on or near the northern border of Minnesota can satisfy the requirements of the narration; nor can any other island in the Mississippi, or in any river of this region, meet these requirements so satisfactorily as Prairie island, which is the largest in all the course of the Mississipi. The identification seems to me to stand in the clearest light, without a shadow of reason for distrust.

Many islands had been passed in the long canoe journey up the Mississippi, but the "first landing isle" was the first having sufficient height and extent to be adapted for permanent settlement by the Indians and later by white men. This name seems to imply a second isle farther up the river, rising likewise above its highest flood stage and therefore permanently habitable, which conditions mark Gray Cloud island, about four miles long and one to two miles wide, situated about ten miles above Prairie island and five miles above Hastings. Both these islands were inhabited long before the coming of white immigration, and even at the time of this first expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson they were probably already known by the Indians as the first and second "landing isles." Each shows traces of very

ancient occupancy, made known by Hon. J. V. Brower's archæologic examination and mapping of their aboriginal mounds, village sites, and places of canoe landings.

Isle Pelée, as Prairie island was called by the French, is ten and a half miles long, and has an average width of about two miles, with a maximum of two and three-fourths miles. Its area is about twenty square miles, and its highest part is 40 to 65 feet above the low water stage of the inclosing rivers. This large island lies between the Mississippi and a western tributary, the Vermillion river, which flow respectively along its northeast and southwest sides, each measuring more than ten miles. At its northwest or upstream end, the island is bounded by Truedell slough, which supplies, even at the lowest stage of water, a connection between the Mississippi and the Vermillion, usually carrying a current from the former to the latter; but during floods in the smaller river, when it is the higher, the direction of the current in the slough is reversed. In the highest floods from exceptional rains or from the snow-melting in spring, the Mississippi rises 16 to 18 feet above its lowest stage; and then it sends off a wide part of its waters along the course of the Vermillion, to reunite with the broader flood of the main river south of the island, which is reduced at such times to a length of about seven miles and a maximum width of only about one mile.

This island possesses several beautiful lakes, from a half mile to two miles long ; and the largest, Sturgeon lake, has a width of a half mile. Timber grows along most parts of the shores of these lakes, and along the banks of both the Mississippi and Vermillion rivers, in some places reaching far from the shores; but about four-fifths of the island is prairie, as it was also indubitably when Groseilliers and Radisson came there. Excepting an extensive low and marshy tract on the northwestern part of the island, all its prairie is suitable for cultivation and is now occupied and used for farming, including not less than ten or twelve square miles, or about 7,000 acres.

As I traversed this historic island in early May of the year 1901, at nearly the exact season of the arrival of these Frenchmen almost two and a half centuries ago, my thoughts went back to that springtime, and I endeavored to picture their coming with

a hundred and fifty Indians to join those who a year or two before had come there, attracted by the fitness of the land for corn-raising. The island was then a great prairie as now, and its sedentary Indian population may have usually exceeded its present number of white inhabitants, perhaps a hundred and fifty, with their twenty-five or thirty farmhouses, two schoolhouses, and a church. Instead of the neighboring railways and villages of civilization, all the Mississippi basin from lake Itasca to the Gulf was uninhabited by white men. But it had many Indian villages, many cultivated fields yielding abundantly, and unlimited supplies of fish and game. The native tribes had not yet obtained the firearms before which the buffaloes, elk and deer, and most of the wild fowl, have fallen and vanished away. Their traffic with Europeans was begun by these two daring explorers and traders.

Groseilliers at this date was thirty-four years old, and was well experienced in the hazardous life of a pioneer Indian trader, prudent, persevering, and successful. His comrade was scarcely twenty years old, full of courage, resourceful, fond of wild adventure, and eager to see new regions. If we compare their enterprise to a boat or ship, Groseilliers was like the ballast to keep the craft right side up, while Radisson was like the sail to give speed and distance.

It will be profitable to us of this Historical Society, and to all Minnesota readers, that the part of Radisson's narration giving the journey to Prairie island and the events of their stay shall be here fully transcribed, as follows:

. . . Att last we declared our mind first to those of the Sault, encouraging those of the North that we are their brethren, & that we would come back and force their enemy to peace or that we would help against them. We made guifts one to another, and thwarted a land of allmost 50 leagues before the snow was melted. In the morning it was a pleasur to walke, for we could goe without racketts. The snow was hard enough, because it freezed every night. When the sun began to shine we payed for the time past. The snow sticks so to our racketts that I believe our shoes weighed 30 pounds, which was a paine, having a burden uppon our backs besides.

We arrived, some 150 of us, men & women, to a river side, where we stayed 3 weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fish. During that time we made feasts att a high rate. So we refreshed ourselves from our labours. In that time we tooke notice that the budds of trees began to

spring, which made us to make more hast & be gone. We went up the river 8 days till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick & Matonenock; that is, the scrattchers. There we got some Indian meale & corne from those 2 nations, which lasted us till we came to the first landing Isle. There we weare well received againe. We made guifts to the Elders to encourage the yong people to bring us downe to the ffrench. But mightily mistaken; ffor they would reply, "Should you bring us to be killed? The Iroquoits are every where about the river & undoubtedly will destroy us if we goe downe, & afterwards our wives & those that stayed behinde. Be wise, brethren, & offer not to goe downe this yeare to the ffrench. Lett us keepe our lives." We made many private suits, but all in vaine. That vexed us most that we had given away most of our merhandises & swapped a great deale for Castors [beavers]. Moreover they made no great harvest, being but newly there. Beside, they weare no great huntsmen. Our journey was broaken till the next yeare, & must per force.

That summer I went a hunting, & my brother stayed where he was welcome & putt up a great deale of Indian corne that was given him. He intended to furnish the wildmen that weare to goe downe to the ffrench if they had not enough. The wildmen did not perceive this: ffor if they wanted any, we could hardly kept it for our use. The winter passes away in good correspondence one with another, & sent ambassadors to the nations that uses to goe downe to the ffrench, which rejoiced them the more & made us passe that yeare with a greater pleasur, saving that my brother fell into the falling sicknesse, & many weare sorry for it. That proceeded onely of a long stay in a newly discovered country, & the idlenesse contributs much to it. There is nothing comparable to exercise. It is the onely remedy of such diseases. After he languished awhile God gave him his health againe.

AGRICULTURE OF THE INDIANS.

Here let us pause briefly to consider the attainments of the aborigines of America in agriculture ,the oldest of the industrial arts that lead from savagery toward civilization. Among the several notable additions to the world's important food resources which were received by the discovery of this western continent, including potatoes, tomatoes, the most common species and varieties of beans, the pumpkin, the pine-apple, and the domesticated turkey, no other ranks so high in value as maize or Indian corn, which was cultivated in abundance by all the tribes of the eastern and southern United States, from the Atlantic to the upper Mississippi and quite across the continent to California, as also farther south in Mexico and Central America, and onward to Peru, Chile, and the River La Plata.

Schoolcraft wrote of this grain: "The Zea, maize, originally furnished the principal article of subsistance among all the tribes of this race, north and south. It lay at the foundation of the Mexican and Peruvian types of civilization, as well as the incipient gleamings of it among the more warlike tribes of the Iroquois, Natchez, Lenapees, and others, of northern latitudes. They esteem it so important and divine a grain, that their story-tellers invented various tales, in which this idea is symbolized under the form of a special gift from the Great Spirit. The Odjibwa-Algonquins, who call it Mon-dá-min, that is, the Spirit's grain or berry, have a pretty story of this kind, in which the stalk in full tassel is represented as descending from the sky, under the guise of a handsome youth, in answer to the prayers of a young man at his fast of virility, or coming to manhood."*

John Fiske wrote: "The ancient Americans had a cereal plant peculiar to the New World, which made comparatively small demands upon the intelligence and industry of the cultivator. Maize or 'Indian corn' has played a most important part in the history of the New World, as regards both the red men and the white men. It could be planted without clearing or ploughing the soil. It was only necessary to girdle the trees with a stone hatchet, so as to destroy their leaves and let in the sunshine. A few scratches and digs were made in the ground with a stone digger, and the seed once dropped in took care of itself. The ears could hang for weeks after ripening, and could be picked off without meddling with the stalk; there was no need of threshing and winnowing. None of the Old World cereals can be cultivated without much more industry and intelligence. At the same time when Indian corn is sown in tilled land, it yields with little labour more than twice as much food per acre as any other kind of grain. This was of incalculable advantage to the English settlers of New England, who would have found it much harder to gain a secure foothold upon the soil if they had had to begin by preparing it for wheat and rye without the aid of the beautiful and beneficent American plant."†

Repeatedly the first white inhabitants of Massachusetts and Virginia were saved from hunger, and probably even from starv-

*Oneota, 1845, p. 82.

†The Discovery of America, 1892, vol. i., pp. 27, 28.

ation, by the corn which they obtained by gift or purchase or stealing from the Indians. Vast fields of maize, in tens and sometimes hundreds of acres, were cultivated close to the larger villages of all the Indian tribes, as is well attested by the earliest chroniclers of our colonial history, and by the observations of the first travelers throughout all the eastern half of our country. In the accounts of the terrible Indian wars of tribal extermination, like those waged by the Iroquois against the Hurons and the Illinois, and in the campaigns of the French and later of the English against the Iroquois themselves, the wanton destruction of their great cornfields and stores of corn saved for winter, or often for two or more years to guard against any failure of crops, excites our astonishment, and shows how large a share agriculture contributed to their subsistence.

The Hurons, especially, were a people whose large dependence on agriculture, with proportional deficiency as wandering hunters or marauding warriors, had made them an easy prey of the ferocious and pitiless Iroquois. One branch of this people was called the Tobacco tribe or nation, because they were remarkably addicted to the cultivation and use of tobacco, which also indeed was cultivated, though in less degree, by all the tribes, and was another gift from America to the world. Groseilliers and Radisson had noted the extensive deserted fields of the Hurons, depopulated by raids of their Iroquois enemies, about the south part of Georgian bay, the great eastern arm of the lake which bears their name. Wherever their straggling remnants migrated, to the Illinois Indians on the Illinois river, to the Upper Iowa river, to Prairie island, and soon afterward to the interior of northern Wisconsin and to Chequamegon bay, they carried superior knowledge and practice of agriculture, for which reason they occupied this beautiful island of the Mississippi a few years, until compelled to abandon it by the frequent attacks of the neighboring Sioux.

All the chief varieties of maize, as that with small and hard yellow kernels, cultivated farthest north, the more rank plant with large indented kernels, whether yellow or white, cultivated through the southern part of this country, the white sweet corn, and pop corn, had originated in cultivation by the American race before the Columbian discovery. But the ancient native habitat

of this species, the only one of its genus, has not been surely ascertained. As a wild plant, it may have become extinct. How long it had been cultivated, we cannot closely estimate; but its very diverse varieties, like those of many cultivated plants, point to a great antiquity. I cannot doubt that men inhabited America long before the end of the Ice age, having come hither from northeastern Asia, perhaps also from northwestern Europe, across land areas which are now submerged by the sea, but which before the Ice age, and during its greater part, were uplifted much higher than now. Easy access was then afforded for primitive men to come to this continent, and to spread throughout its entire length to Patagonia. Even during the early and middle part of the long Glacial period this migration might take place, for the high elevation of the northern portion of North America doubtless gave to it a resemblance to Greenland at the present day, in that the continental ice-sheet, though extending beyond the present coast lines, terminated inside the general coast of that time, leaving a narrow land border where men could journey, obtaining as food the mollusks, fish, and game of this coastal belt.

Speedily after Columbus and his successors established commerce between the New and Old Worlds, maize was carried into Europe and Asia, and became a staple crop in many countries, from the Mediterranean region to China. Today it feeds more people than any other article of food, excepting perhaps rice.

PUBLIC COUNCIL IN THE SPRING OF 1656.

Coming back from this digression, we see Groseilliers and Radisson making all preparations for the long journey of their return to Lower Canada. Many of the Indians must necessarily accompany them, and their canoes will be well laden with valuable furs, mostly of the beaver or castor. But the Hurons and other Indians who must be the Frenchmen's escort and retinue are still faint-hearted, dreading ambuscade and attack on their way by the fierce Iroquois who had so recently devastated all the Huron country. The earnest arguments of Groseilliers seem insufficient, until Radisson by a bold assertion that he will start alone, at the same time suiting the action to the word, turns the tide of the council to approve and authorize the dangerous jour-

ney. Radisson narrates this in picturesquely graphic and dramatic style, bringing this great council very clearly before us, as follows:

The desire that every one had to goe downe to the ffrench made them earnestly looke out for castors. They have not so many there as in the north part, so in the beginning of spring many came to our Isle. There weare no lesse, I believe, then 500 men that weare willing to venter themselves. The corne that my brother kept did us a world of service. The wildmen brought a quantity of flesh salted in a vesell. When we weare ready to depart, heere comes strang news of the defeat of the hurrons, which news, I thought, would putt off the voyage. There was a councell held, & most of them weare against the goeing downe to the ffrench, saying that the Iroquoits weare to barre this yeare, & the best way was to stay till the following yeare. And now the ennemy, seeing himselfe frustrated of his expectation, would not stay longer, thinking thereby that we weare resolved nevermore to go downe, and that next yeare there should be a bigger company, & better able to oppose an ennemy. My brother and I, seeing ourselves all out of hopes of our voyage, without our corne, which was allready bestowed, & without any merchandise, or scarce having one knife betwixt us both, so we weare in a great apprehension least that the hurrons should, as they have done often, when the ffathers weare in their country, kill a frenchman.

Seeing the equipage ready & many more that thought long to depart thence for marchandise, we uppon this resolved to call a publique councell in the place; which the Elders hearing, came and advised us not to undertake it, giving many faire words, saying, "Brethren, why are you such ennemys to yourselves to putt yourselves in the hands of those that wait for you? They will destroy you and carry you away captives. Will you have your brethren destroyed that loves you, being slained? Who then will come up and baptize our children? Stay till the next yeare, & then you are like to have the number of 600 men in company with you. Then you may freely goe without intermission. Yee shall take the church along with you, & the ffathers & mothers will send their children to be taught in the way of truth of the Lord." Our answer was that we would speake in publique, which granted, the day appointed is come. There gathered above 800 men to see who should have the glorie in a round. They satt downe on the ground. We desired silence. The elders being in the midle & we in their midle, my brother began to speake. "Who am I? am I a foe or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you suffer me to live so long among you? If I am a friend, & if you take so to be, hearken to what I shall say. You know, my uncles & Brethren, that I hazarded my life goeing up with you; if I have no courage, why did you not tell me att my first coming here? & if you have more witt then we, why did not you use it by preserving your knives, your hattchetts, & your gunns, that you had from the ffrench? You will see if the ennemy will sett upon you that you will be attraped like castors in a trape; how will you defend yourselves like men that is

not courageous to lett your selves be catched like beasts? How will you defend villages? with castors' skins? how will you defend your wives & children from the ennemy's hands?"

Then my brother made me stand up, saying, "Shew them the way to make warrs if they are able to uphold it." I tooke a gowne of castors' skins that one of them had uppon his shoulder & did beat him with it. I asked the others if I was a souldier. "Those are the armes that kill, & not your robes. What will your ennemy say when you perish without defending yourselves? Doe not you know the ffrench way? We are used to fight with armes & not with robes. You say that the Iroquoits waits for you because some of your men weare killed. It is onely to make you stay untill you are quite out of stocke, that they dispatch you with ease. Doe you think that the ffrench will come up here when the greatest part of you is slained by your owne fault? You know that they cannot come up without you. Shall they come to baptize your dead? Shall your children learne to be slaves among the Iroquoits for their ffathers' cowardnesse? You call me Iroquoit. Have not you seene me disposing my life with you? Who has given you your life if not the ffrench? Now you will not venter because many of your confederates are come to visit you & venter their lives with you. If you will deceave them you must not think that they will come an other time nor shy words nor desire. You have spoaken of it first, doe what you will. For myne owne part, I will venter choosing to die like a man then live like a beggar. Having not wherewithall to defend myselfe, farewell; I have my sack of corne ready. Take all my castors. I shall live without you." & then departed that company.

They weare amazed of our proceeding; they stayed long before they spoake one to another. Att last sent us some considerable persons who bid us cheare up. "We see that you are in the right; the voyage is not broaken. The yong people tooke very ill that you have beaten them with the skin. All avowed to die like men & undertake the journey. You shall heare what the councell will ordaine the morrow. They are to meet privatly & you shall be called to it. Cheare up & speake as you have done; that is my councell to you. For this you will remember me when you will see me in your country; ffor I will venter myselfe with you." Now we are more satisfied then the day before. We weare to use all rhetorique to persuade them to goe downe, ffor we saw the country languish very much, ffor they could not subsist, & moreover they weare afraid of us. The councell is called, but we had no need to make a speech, finding them disposed to make the voyage & to submitt. "Yee women gett your husbands' bundles ready. They goe to gett wherwithall to defend themselves & you alive."

What a scene was that great public council for a poet or painter, to depict Groseilliers and Radisson pleading before eight hundred Indians! It is a day in the middle or later part of June. On each side, some two miles away, rise the wooded bluffs that

inclose the valley and its islands. In a beautiful prairie area the motley crowd of savages are sitting or lying on the ground. At the center of the assemblage these two courageous Frenchmen are striving to persuade their dusky auditors to set out on the first commercial venture connecting this region with civilization.

THE RETURN TO QUEBEC.

As Groseilliers and Radisson now leave the area of Minnesota, we will give only a short acount of their further fortunes until they again arrive in our northwestern country. The following narrative of Radisson is very brief for the first two-thirds of the journey, until they have passed beyond lake Nipissing.

Our equipage was ready in 6 dayes. We embarked ourselves. We weare in number about 500. all stout men. We had with us a great store of castors' skins. We came to the South. We now goe back to the north, because to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others. We passed the lake without dangers. We wanted nothing, having good store of corne & netts to catch fish, which is plentyfull in the rivers. We came to a place where 8 Iroquoits wintered. That was the company that made a slaughter before our departure from home. Our men repented now they did not goe sooner, ffor it might be they should have surprised them. Att last we are out of those lakes.

On the lower Ottawa river, after passing the Calumet rapids, the voyageurs were harassed by small parties of the Iroquois, who endeavored to bar their advance but were defeated. In speaking of one of their encounters, against "16 boats of our ennemy," Radisson enumerates the Indian tribes represented in his company, as follows:

. . . We begin to make outcryes & sing. The hurrons in one side, the Algonquins att the other side, the Ottanak [Ottawas], the panoestigons [Saulters, Ojibways], the Amickkoick [Beaver Indians], the Nadonicenago [Sinagoes, an Ottawa band], the ticacon [probably Tatarga, the Prairie Sioux], and we both encouraged them all, crying out with a loud noise.

After the latest encounter with the Iroquois, in running rapids of "that swift streame . . . . . the bad lacke was," says Radisson, "that where my brother was the boat [over]turned in the torrent, being seaven of them together, weare in great dan-

ger, ffor God was mercifull to give them strength to save themselves . . . . . My brother lost his booke of annotations of the last yeare of our being in these foraigne nations. We lost never a castor, but may be some better thing. It's better [that one] loose all then lose his life." The place of this misfortune, as we learn in the description of the return from the second western expedition, was the Long Sault of the Ottawa, a series of rapids extending nearly six miles next below Grenville, about halfway between Ottawa and Montreal. Many times will Minnesota historians regret that the diary of Groseilliers at Prairie island was thus lost! Instead, we have only what Radisson remembered and wrote for his English patrons about ten years afterward.

The arrival of this company, with their large stock of furs, brought great rejoicing to the French settlements, which had languished, on account of the failure of the fur trade, since 1649-50, when the Hurons, with whom principally this trade existed, were mostly killed, and the others driven from their country, by the Iroquois and by famine following their cruel warfare. Radisson wrote:

> . . . I give you leavé if those of mont Royall weare not overjoyed to see us arrived where they affirme us the pitifull conditions that the country was by the cruelty of these cruell barbars, that perpetually killed & slaughtered to the very gate of the ffrench fort . . . We came to Quebecq, where we are saluted with the thundring of the guns & batteryes of the fort, and of the 3 shipps that weare then at anchor, which had gon back to france without castors if we had not come. We weare well traited for 5 dayes. The Governor made guifts & sent 2 Brigantins to bring us to the 3 rivers. . . . .

ACCOUNT IN THE JESUIT RELATION OF 1655-56.

The parallel narration of this expedition in the Jesuit Relation of 1655-56 supplies some very interesting and important additional details:

> On the sixth day of August, 1654, two young Frenchmen, full of courage, having received permission from Monsieur the Governor of the Country to embark with some of the Peoples who had come down to our French settlements, began a journey of more than five hundred leagues under the guidance of these Argonauts,—conveyed, not in great Galleons

or large oared Barges, but in little Gondolas of bark. The two Pilgrims fully expected to return in the Spring of 1655, but those Peoples did not conduct them home until toward the end of August of this year, 1656. Their arrival caused the Country universal joy, for they were accompanied by fifty canoes, laden with goods which the French come to this end of the world to procure. The fleet rode in state and in fine order along your mighty river, propelled by five hundred arms, and guided by as many eyes, most of which had never seen the great wooden canoes of the French,—that is to say, their Ships.

Having landed, amid the stunning noise of Cannon, and having quickly built their temporary dwellings, the Captains ascended to Fort saint Louys to salute Monsieur our Governor, bearing their speeches in their hands. These were two presents, which represent words among these Peoples. One of the two gifts asked for some Frenchmen, to go and pass the Winter in their Country; while the other made request for some Fathers of our Society, to teach all the Nations of those vast Regions the way to Heaven. They were answered, in their own way, by presents, and were very willingly granted all that they asked. But, while those assigned to this great undertaking are making their preparations, let us learn some news from the two French Pilgrims and from their hosts.

. . . we were told of many Nations surrounding the Nation of the Sea [the Winnebagoes] which some have called "the Stinkards." because its people formerly lived on the shores of the Sea, which they call *Ouinipeg,* that is, "stinking water." The *Liniouek* [Illinois], their neighbors, comprise about sixty Villages; the *Nadouesiouek* [Sioux] have fully forty; the *Pouarak* [Assiniboines], at least thirty; and the *Kiristinons* [Crees] surpass all the above in extent, reaching as far as the North Sea. The Country of the Hurons, which had only seventeen Villages, extending over about as many leagues, maintained fully thirty thousand people.

. . . these two young men have not undergone hardships for naught in their long journey. Not only have they enriched some Frenchmen upon their return, but they also caused great joy in all Paradise, during their travels, by Baptizing and sending to Heaven about three hundred little children, who began to know, love, and possess God, as soon as they were washed in his blood through the waters of Baptism. They awakened in the minds of those Peoples the remembrance of the beauties of our Faith, whereof they had acquired the first tincture in the Country of the Hurons, when they visited our Fathers living there, or when some of us approached the Regions bordering on their Country.*

The Indians in the council at Prairie island, and also Radisson in his speech there, mentioned the baptism of children; and we may readily believe that it was done by Groseilliers, who during the years 1641-46 had been a lay helper of the Jesuits in

*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; edited by R. G. Thwaites. Vol. xlii., 1899, pp. 219-223.

their very successful Huron missions. If the "booke of annotations" by Groseilliers had not been lost, as before related, we should doubtless have therein many further details of the year spent on Prairie island.

In comparing the tribal names given by Radisson with those in the Jesuit Relation, it is noticeable that the latter is more explicit, containing definite information of the Illinois, Sioux, Assiniboines, and Crees, who were either unknown or less fully known to Radisson, so far as appears in his narration. For these tribes the Jesuit writer probably obtained information, as the Relation itself indicates, from some of the Indians in the company that came with Groseilliers and Radisson, learning more perhaps than these French traders knew. Their retinue doubtless included Indians who had traveled far beyond their own tribal areas, and who might inform the Jesuits concerning the distant southern and northern Indians.

The tribes and bands enumerated by Radisson, excepting probably "the ticacon," had been driven from their former homes around lake Huron and at the Sault Ste. Marie, and were doubtless each represented in the large company of refugees, called by Perrot the Hurons and Ottawas, who, as he related, fled to the Mississippi river and settled temporarily on Prairie island and in its vicinity.* Before their coming to this upper part of the Mississippi, they had visited "the great Nation of the Alimiwec" [Liniouek, Illinois], the populous Algonquian tribe of sixty villages on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.†

When is is remembered that our Frenchmen spent more than a year at Prairie island, and that they had "good correspondence" and "sent ambassadors to the nations that use to go down to the French," it appears possible that there were also some who then went for the first time, representatives of the Illinois, and of the Sioux, Assiniboines, and Crees, coming long distances, respectively, from the south, west, and north, bringing their furs, and joining the retinue of these traders, escorted by the Hurons and Ottawas, in the long trip east of about two thousand miles.

It required probably about seven weeks to go from Prairie island to Lower Canada; and a longer time was used in going back, propelling the canoes against the current of the Ottawa

*Memoire, by Nicolas Perrot, published by Tailhan in 1864, pp. 83–88.
†Jesuit Relations, vol. xlv., p. 235 (Relation of 1659–60).

and Mattawa rivers, along the shores of Georgian bay, lakes Huron and Michigan, and Green bay, and through the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, to the Mississippi and the vast western prairies.

Why were not the names of Groseilliers and Radisson given in the Jesuit Relations? Much is told of their expeditions by these missionary reports for 1656 and 1660; but their names, though surely well known to the Jesuit writer, are not stated. We may conjecture that the writer had some distrust of their continuing in loyalty to the church or to the government . On their part, the brothers-in-law concealed, as much as they could, the discoveries that they had made, because, as Radisson says, their chief purpose, to reach "the bay of the north," had not been attained. They eagerly looked forward to another expedition.

RADISSON'S EXCURSIONS IN THE SUMMER OF 1655.

Here we may conveniently ask, Among what tribes, and how far from Prairie island, did Radisson go in his hunting excursions with the savages in the summer while Groseilliers was raising corn? The account of his wanderings that summer is given after the main narration of the expedition and its return, and is as follows:

We weare 4 moneths in our voyage without doeing anything but goe from river to river. We mett severall sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long time in alliance with them. By the persuasion of som of them we went into the great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the hurrons with some Ottanake & the wildmen that had warrs with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warrs against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the South, which we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabbans & have great beards & had such knives as we had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people, which made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny than they with whome we weare. His armes & leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted uppon him. So they doe with them that they take, & kill them with clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river. These weare men of extraordinary height & biggnesse, that made us believe they had no communication with them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles [pumpkins], which are mighty bigg. They have fish in plenty throughout the yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak, which grows on vast trees which in compasse are three armefull in compasse. When they see litle men they are afraid & cry out, which makes many come help them. Their arrows are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I having seene them, could not but admire the curiosity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great stones, red and greene. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not seene, therefore you may believe as you please.

When I came backe I found my brother sick, as I said before. God gave him his health, more by his courage then by any good medicine, ffor our bodyes are not like those of the wildmen. . . . .

It is evident, from this account, that Radisson and his companions went southeastward and hunted on the east side of the Mississippi, going by portages from one river to another until they reached the Illinois, "the great river that divides itself in two," so called apparently because it is formed by the junction of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee, each an important canoe route. The Jesuit Relation of 1659-60, before cited, informs us that the Hurons and Ottawas retreated thither and were kindly received by the Illinois tribe, from whom then, and during Radisson's hunting trip, might be learned all that he narrates of the "forked river" and the people there and beyond. We should accordingly identify the "forked river" as the Mississippi, running on "towards Mexico" after receiving the great Missouri, the route of many aboriginal canoe expeditions "towards the west." But Groseilliers and Radisson were quite unaware that their own river at Prairie island is the main eastern stream of their "forked river," being, in its farther course and as to the area of its basin, the largest of North America.

Radisson recorded what he gathered from the Indians of the Illinois river concerning those on the Missouri and farther south and southwest. Indeed, acording to his own narrative of his captivity among the Iroquois, he had there heard several years previously (from an Iroquois who had ranged far and wide in the west, to the same "river that divides itself in two") a part of

the information that he gives as learned in this expedition, of gigantic men, and of trees that bear fruit as big as the heart of an elk, thought by Captain Blakeley to refer to pine cones with edible nutlike seeds, which are used as food in Mexico and California. For a full consideration of what Radisson thus learned and wrote of the Missouri and the far southwest, see the paper by Captain Blakeley in the Collections of this Society.*

It need not cause surprise that Radisson learned much concerning regions far beyond the limits of his own travels, and that he was thereby tempted to add a false year in each of the expeditions to the west, telling what he heard from the Indians as if it was actually seen by himself. He first learned of the Illinois river and of the country beyond while he was a captive in the region of central New York. Later he claimed to have gone to the Gulf of Mexico, though probably never nearer to it than central Illinois; and, last of all, he claimed to have traveled from the west part of lake Superior to Hudson bay, though probably not advancing so far north as to the northern boundary of Minnesota.

Narrative of the Second Western Expedition.

After returning from the west in August, 1656, Groseilliers and Radisson took a period of rest. This was succeeded by Radisson's expedition with others, Indians and French, to the Onondaga country, which he places as his "second voyage." From this absence he returned about the end of March, 1658. Afterward, in the latter part of the summer of this year or of the next year, 1659, the two brothers-in-law, and a party of returning Indians, again started for the farthest west, with a stock of merchandise suited for barter in their fur trading.

The narrative by Radisson very explicitly relates their travels and experiences for two years, which would require their departure to have been in 1658; for the date of their return, known with certainty from several concurring records, was in August, 1660. But the Relation and Journal of the Jesuits both indicate that this expedition occupied only one year. Scrutinizing the narrative, with this discrepancy in mind, I am fully,

*Vol. viii., pp. 315-330.

though reluctantly, persuaded that here again Radisson was guilty in his writing, as for the preceding western expedition, of fictitiously adding a year, this being from the first spring to the second in his narration, comprising the visit to Hudson bay. The numerous reasons for this conclusion will appear as we proceed. It is therefore to be understood that the beginning of this expedition was in August, 1659, soon after a "company of the Sault" (Ojibways) arrived at Three Rivers.

Aillebout, the governor of Quebec, who in 1656 welcomed and honored these traders because their enterprise had given new courage to the colony, was succeeded in the summer of 1658 by Argenson, who held the office three years. He treated Groseilliers and Radisson with injustice as to the terms for granting to them the requisite official permission or license for this expedition. Not daunted, however, they departed at night, disregarding the governor's special prohibition, but bearing the good wishes of the people and garrison of Three Rivers, voiced by the sentry, "God give you a good voyage."

The journey up the Ottawa river was enlivened by skirmishes with Iroquois rangers, some being killed on each side, which Radisson relates in his fervid style, with many details of the wary Indian warfare. After twenty-two days of frequent danger, hardship and hunger, the canoe flotilla entered Georgian bay of Lake Huron. Radisson says: "Our equipage and we weare ready to wander uppon that sweet sea; but most of that coast is void of wild beasts, so there was great famine amongst us for want. Yett the coast afforded us some small fruits. There I found the kindnesse & charity of the wildmen, ffor when they found any place of any quantity of it [blueberries] they called me and my brother to eat & replenish our bellys, shewing themselves far gratfuller then many Christians even to their owne relations."

Coasting northwestward, they soon came to St. Mary's river and falls, still commonly known by the ancient French name, Sault Ste. Marie, outflowing from Lake Superior. It appears, in Radisson's speaking of the whitefish, that Groseilliers and himself had never come there previously; but in the first winter of the first western expedition they had probably visited the Saulteurs (Ojibways) on the south side of lake Superior in the vicinity of Au Train river and bay, due north of Green bay and

a hundred and twenty-five miles west of the Sault. Exactly twenty-five years had passed since Jean Nicolet, with his seven Huron canoemen, came to the Sault, in the autumn of 1634, being the first of Europeans to look on the greatest of our inland freshwater seas. Groseilliers and Radisson were now the first white men to navigate its length and to travel beyond among the tribes of northern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota.

Ojibways were the escort of the French traders and of the Indians from other tribes in this expedition. They had formerly lived at the Sault, and hence were called by the French the Saulteurs; but they had been driven away westward by the raids of the Iroquois, so that at this time the region was desolate without inhabitants. The narrative of the arrival and short stay at St. Mary's falls is as follows:

> Afterwardes we entered into a straight which had 10 leagues in length, full of islands, where we wanted not fish. We came after to a rapid that makes the separation of the lake of the hurrons, that we calle Superior, or upper, for that the wildmen hold it to be longer & broader, besids a great many islands, which maks appeare in a bigger extent. This rapid was formerly the dwelling of those with whome wee weare, and consequently we must not aske them if they knew where they have layed. Wee made cottages att our advantages, and found the truth of what those men had often [said], that if once we could come to that place we should make good cheare of a fish that they call *Assickmack*, which signifieth a white-fish. The beare, the castors, and the Oriniack shewed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a terrestriall paradise. After so long fastning, after so great paines that we had taken, finde ourselves so well by choosing our dyet, and resting when we had a minde to it, 't is here that we must tast with pleasur a sweet bitt. We doe not aske for a good sauce; it's better to have it naturally; it is the way to distinguish the sweet from the bitter.
>
> But the season was far spent, and use diligence and leave that place so wished, which wee shall bewaile, to the coursed Iroquoits. . . . We left that inn without reckoning with our host. It is cheape when wee are not to put the hand to the purse; neverthelesse we must pay out of civility: the one gives thanks to the woods, the other to the river, the third to the earth, the other to the rocks that stayes the ffish. . . .

As the voyageurs advanced along the south shore of lake Superior, Radisson saw and well remembered all the chief geographic features. Of the high sand dunes in the vicinity of the Point Au Sable, nearly a hundred miles from the Sault, he says:

. . . we saw banckes of sand so high that one of our wildmen went upp for curiositie; being there, did shew no more than a crow. That place is most dangerous when that there is any storme, being no landing place so long as the sandy bancks are under water; and when the wind blowes, that sand doth rise by a strang kind of whirling that are able to choake the passengers. One day you will see 50 small mountaines att one side, and the next day, if the wind changes, on the other side. . . .

About fifteen miles farther on, southwestward from the Point Au Sable, are the Grand Portal, or Arched Rock, and other waterworn cliffs, well described in the narrative.

After this we came to a remarquable place. It's a banke of Rocks that the wildmen made a sacrifice to; they calls it *Nanitoucksinagoit*, which signifies the likenesse of the devill. They fling much tobacco and other things in its veneration. It is a thing most incredible that that lake should be so boisterous, that the waves of it should have the strength to doe what I have to say by this my discours: first, that it's so high and soe deepe that it's impossible to claime up to the point. There comes many sorte of birds that makes there nest here, the goilants, which is a white sea-bird of the bignesse of pigeon, which makes me believe what the wildmen told me concerning the sea to be neare directly to the point. It's like a great Portall, by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that oppening is as bigg as a tower, and grows bigger in the going up. There is, I believe, 6 acres of land above it. A shipp of 500 tuns could passe by, soe bigg is the arch. I gave it the name of the portall of St. Peter, because my name is so called, and that I was the first Christian that ever saw it. There is in that place caves very deepe, caused by the same violence. We must looke to ourselves, and take time with our small boats. The coast of rocks is 5 or 6 leagues, and there scarce a place to putt a boat in assurance from the waves. When the lake is agitated the waves goeth in these concavities with force and make a most horrible noise, most like the shooting of great guns.

Radisson continues with description of the passage across the base of the Keweenaw peninsula, which projects fifty miles northeasterly into the lake.

Some dayes afterwards we arrived to a very beautifull point of sand where there are 3 beautifull islands, that we called of the Trinity [now called Huron islands]; there be 3 in triangle. From this place we discovered a bay very deepe [Keweenaw bay], where a river empties it selfe with a noise for the quantitie & dept of the water. We must stay there 3 dayes to wait for faire weather to make the Trainage, which was about 6 leagues wide. Soe done, we came to the mouth of a small river, where we killed some Oriniacks. We found meddows that weare squared, and 10 leagues as smooth as a board. We went up some 5 leagues further, where we found some pools made by the castors. We must breake them that we

might passe. The sluce being broaken, what a wounderfull thing to see the industrie of that animal, which had drowned more then 20 leagues in the grounds, and cutt all the trees, having left non to make a fire if the countrey should be dried up. Being come to the height, we must drague our boats over a trembling ground for the space of an houre. . . . .

Having passed that place, we made a carriage through the land for 2 leagues. The way was well beaten because of the commers and goers, who by making that passage shortens their passage by 8 dayes by tourning about the point that goes very farr in that great lake, that is to say, 5 to come to the point, and 3 for to come to the landing of that place of carriage. In the end of that point, that goeth very farre, there is an isle, as I was told, all of copper. This I have not seene. They say that from the isle of copper, which is a league in the lake, when they are minded to thwart it in a faire and calme wether, beginning from sun rising to sun sett, they come to a great island [Isle Royale], from whence they come the next morning to firme lande att the other side; so by reason of 20 leagues a day that lake should be broad of 6 score and 10 leagues. The wildmen doe not much lesse when the weather is faire.

Isle Royale is plainly visible from the high Keweenaw peninsula; and it soon came into full view to the toiling Indians in their canoes. The distance is only forty-five or fifty miles, and was passed over without difficulty in the fifteen hours, more or less, of a long summer day. What Radisson meant in computing the distance of 130 leagues is not evident. Twenty leagues, which he estimates for one day's canoeing, from Keweenaw point to Isle Royale, are fifty-five miles, the common league of France being 2.76 English miles. Parties of Ojibways were accustomed, as he says, to make this passage across the lake, but only in favorable weather and to accomplish it in a single day, lest in a cloudy day or by night they should miss the right course, or lest in storms their light birch bark canoes should be swamped by high waves. Nor need we doubt even that the Crees, in their smaller canoes, could do the same, for they crossed from the Bayfield peninsula to the north shore near the present town of Two Harbors, as narrated later, which is half as far.

After five days of canoeing beyond the Keweenaw portage, Groseilliers and Radisson, with their company of Ojibways, Hurons and Ottawas, came to a camp of Crees on the lake shore, who gladly welcomed them on account of their French merchandise. Somewhat farther on, at the Montreal river, many of the company, apparently Ojibways, turned their canoes up that river, leaving, however, a large flotilla to continue westward along the

lake coast. Half a day's journey then brought the French traders, with their Indian escort and retinue of the various tribes, to Chequamegon bay, which became their base for departure inland and for return after their winter travels and trade.

FORT AT CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

Resuming the narrative at the Montreal river, we learn soon of the earliest dwelling built by white men on the shores of lake Superior, a rude palisade with a covering of boughs. The narrative runs thus:

. . . Many of our wildmen went to win the shortest way to their nation, and weare then 3 and 20 boats, for we mett with some in that lake that joyned with us, and came to keepe us company, in hopes to gett knives from us, which they love better than we serve God, which should make us blush for shame. Seaven boats stayed of the nation of the Sault. We went on half a day before we could come to the landing place, and wear forced to make another carriage a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad. As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about, if we had gone in. By goeing about that same point we passed a straight, for that point was very nigh the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like piramides. That point should be very fitt to build & advantageous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a chanell where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of a vast biggnesse, and Pycks of seaven foot long. Att the end of this bay we landed. The wildmen gave thanks to that which they worship, we to God of Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation and forsake our boats to undertake a harder peece of worke in hand, to which we are forced. The men [Hurons returning] told us that wee had 5 great dayes' journeys before we should arrive where their wives weare. We foresee the hard task that we weare to undergoe by carrying our bundles uppon our backs. They weare used to it. Here every one for himselfe & God for all.

We finding ourselves not able to perform such a taske, & they coulde not well tell where to finde their wives, fearing least the Nadoneceronons had warrs against their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I we consulted what was best to doe, and declared our will to them, which was thus: "Brethren, we resolve to stay here, being not accustomed to make any cariage on our backs as yee are wont. Goe yee and looke for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And seeing that you are not able to carry all your merchandizes att once, we will keepe them for you ,and will stay for you 14 dayes. Before the time expired you will send to us if your wives be alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here & what we have; ffor their paines they shall receive guifts of us. Soe you will see us in your countrey. If they be dead, we will spend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole countrey for the

next spring, for that purpose to destroy those that weare the causers of their death, and you shall see our strength and vallour. Although there are seaven thousand fighting men in one village, you'll see we will make them runne away, & you shall kill them to your best liking by the very noise of our armes and our presence, who are the Gods of the earth among those people."

They woundered very much att our resolution. The next day they went their way and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being but two almost starved for want of food. We went about to make a fort of stakes, which was in this manner. Suppose that the watter side had ben in one end; att the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle to defend us from assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There weare boughs of trees all about our fort layed a crosse, one uppon an other. Besides these boughs we had a long cord tyed with some small bells, which weare senteryes. Finally, we made an end of that fort in 2 dayes' time. We made an end of some fish that we putt by for neede. But as soone as we are lodged we went to fish for more whilst the other kept the house. I was the fittest to goe out, being yongest. I tooke my gunne and goes where I never was before, so I choosed not one way before another. I went to the wood some 3 or 4 miles. I find a small brooke, where I walked by the sid awhile, which brought me into meddowes. There was a poole where weare a good store of bustards. I began to creepe though I might come neare. Thought to be in Canada, where the fowle is scared away; but the poore creatures, seeing me flatt uppon the ground, thought I was a beast as well as they, so they come neare me, whisling like gosslings, thinking to frighten me. The whistling that I made them heare was another musick then theirs. There I killed 3 and the rest scared, which neverthelesse came to that place againe to see what sudaine sicknesse befeled their comrads. I shott againe; two payed for their curiositie. . . . .

There we stayed still full 12 dayes without any news, but we had the company of other wildmen of other countreys that came to us admiring our fort and the workmanshipp. We suffered non to goe in but one person, and liked it so much the better, & often durst not goe in, so much they stood in feare of our armes, that weare in good order, which weare 5 guns, two musquetons, 3 fowling-pieces, 3 paire of great pistoletts, and 2 paire of pockett ons, and every one his sword and daggar. So that we might say that a Coward was not well enough armed. . . . .

The 12th day we perceived afarr off some 50 yong men coming towards us, with some of our formest compagnions. We gave them leave to come into our fort, but they are astonied, calling us every foot devills to have made such a machine. They brought us victualls, thinking we weare halfe starved, but weare mightily mistaken, for we had more for them then they weare able to eate, having 3 score bustards and many sticks where was meate hanged plentifully. They offered to carry our baggage, being come a purpose; but we had not so much marchandize as when they went from us, because we hid some of them, that they might not have suspicion

of us. We told them that for feare of the dayly multitud of people that came to see us, for to have our goods, would kill us. We therefore tooke a boat and putt into it our marchandises; this we brought farre into the bay, where we sunke them, biding our devill not to lett them to be wett nor rusted, nor suffer them to be taken away, which he promised faithlesse that we should retourne and take them out of his hands; att which they weare astonished, believing it to be true as the Christians the Gospell. We hid them in the ground on the other sid of the river in a peece of ground. We told them that lye that they should not have suspicion of us. . . . We weare Cesars, being nobody to contradict us. We went away free from any burden, whilst those poore miserable thought themselves happy to carry our Equipage, for the hope that they had that we should give them a brasse ring, or an awle, or an needle.

There came above foure hundred persons to see us goe away from that place, which admired more our actions [than] the fools of Paris to see enter their King and the Infanta of Spaine, his spouse; for they cry out "God save the King and Queene!" Those made horrid noise, and called Gods and Devills of the Earth and heavens. We marched foure dayes through the woods. The countrey is beautifull, with very few mountaines, the woods cleare. Att last we came within a league of the Cabbans, where we layed that the next day might be for our entrey. We 2 poore adventurers for the honour of our countrey, or of those that shall deserve it from that day; the nimblest and stoutest went before to warne before the people that we should make our entry to-morrow. Every one prepares to see what they never before have seene. We weare in cottages which weare neare a litle lake some 8 leagues in circuit. Att the watterside there weare abundance of litle boats made of trees that they have hollowed, and of rind.

This lake is thought by Father Chrysostom Verwyst to be Lac Courte Oreille, one of the northwestern sources of the Chippewa river in northern Wisconsin, nearly sixty miles south-southwest of Chequamegon bay. It is still called Ottawa lake by the Ojibways, who have a tradition that very long ago Ottawas died there of starvation. The tradition has probably been passed along nearly two centuries and a half, from the terrible winter of 1659-60, to be described by Radisson, when these explorers and the Indians of this region suffered for several weeks a frightful famine.

The narrative, referring still to the "litle boats," continues:

The next day we weare to embarque in them, and arrived att the village by watter, which was composed of a hundred cabans without pallasados. There is nothing but cryes. . . . We destinated 3 presents, one for the men, one for the women, and the other for the children, to the end that they should remember that journey; that we should be spoaken of a

hundred years after, if other Europeans should not come in those quarters and be liberal to them, which will hardly come to passe. . . . The 3rd guift was of brasse rings, of small bells, and rasades of divers coulours, and given in this manner. We sent a man to make all the children come together. When they weare there we throw these things over their heads. You would admire what a beat was among them, everyone striving to have the best. This was done uppon this consideration, that they should be allwayes under our protection, giving them wherewithall to make them merry & remember us when they should be men.

This done, we are called to the Councell of welcome and to the feast of ffriendshipp, afterwards to the dancing of the heads; but before the dancing we must mourne for the deceased, and then, for to forgett all sorrow, to the dance. We gave them foure small guifts that they should continue such ceremonyes, which they tooke willingly and did us good, that gave us authority among the whole nation. We knewed their councels, and made them doe whatsoever we thought best. This was a great advantage for us, you must think. Amongst such a rowish kind of people a guift is much, and well bestowed, and liberality much esteemed; but not prodigalitie is not in esteeme, for they abuse it, being brutish. Wee have ben useing such ceremonyes 3 whole dayes, & weare lodged in the cabban of the chiefest captayne, who came with us from the ffrench. We liked not the company of that blind, therefore left him. He wondred at this, but durst not speake, because we weare demi-gods. We came to a cottage of an ancient witty man, that had had a great familie and many children, his wife old, neverthelesse handsome. They weare of a nation called Malhonmines; that is, the nation of Oats, graine that is much in that countrey. Of this afterwards more att large. I tooke this man for my ffather and the woman for my mother, soe the children consequently brothers and sisters. They adopted me. I gave every one a guift, and they to mee.

STARVATION IN WINTER.

Large numbers of the Huron and Ottawa exiles, flying before the Iroquois and seeking refuge first in the country of the Illinois and later on Prairie island, had, within the three years since the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, been driven from that island by new enemies, the fierce Sioux of the neighbouring forest and prairie country on the north and west, and had again removed, following the Chippewa river of Wisconsin to its sources, or, more probably, coming there by the equally direct route of the St. Croix river. Perrot, in his Memoir (p. 87), states that the Hurons and Ottawas, after leaving Prairie island, went up the Black river to its source, and that there the Hurons established for themselves a fortified village, while the Ottawas advanced to Chequamegon bay. Perhaps the Black river

was the route of the Ottawas; but the Hurons appear to have taken a northward course from Prairie island, ascending the St. Croix. Radisson's narrative certainly shows that the main settlement of the Hurons in 1659 was considerably north of the source of Black river, being instead on the headwaters of the Chippewa, according to Father Verwyst, in the vicinity of Lac Courte Oreille and the numerous other lakes south and east of Hayward in Sawyer county, Wisconsin. The acquaintance of the Hurons with a proposed rendezvous in the country of the Sioux, west of the St. Croix, implies that in their journeying northward many of their people had seen the place which was thus selected for their meeting in the midwinter. The march from Chequamegon bay, "four days through the woods," arriving at the chief Huron village on a lake "some eight leagues in circuit," agrees very well with Verwyst's identification of their locality.

In that wooded country, to which the Hurons had come so very recently, little had yet been done in raising corn. The poor fugitives had no Groseilliers during the preceding summer to urge the necessity of providing corn for their chief subsistence through the long, cold winter, when game and fish might be scarce. If any reader has thought that Longfellow in the most American poem of all our literature, "The Song of Hiawatha," overdrew the horror of famine and starvation which sometimes befall the Indians in winter, let him listen to Radisson's pathetic narration.

Having so disposed of our buissinesse, the winter comes on, that warns us; the snow begins to fall, soe we must retire from the place to seeke our living in the woods. Every one getts his equipage ready. So away we goe, but not all to the same place; two, three att the most, went one way, and so of an other. They have so done because victuals weare scant for all in a place. But lett us where we will, we cannot escape the myghty hand of God, that disposes as he pleases, and who chastes us as a good & a common loving ffather, and not as our sins doe deserve. Finaly wee depart one from an other. As many as we weare in number, we are reduced to a small company. We appointed a rendezvous after two months and a half, to take a new road & an advice what we should doe. During the said terme we sent messengers everywhere, to give speciall notice to all manner of persons and nation that within 5 moons the feast of death was to be celebrated, and that we should apeare together and explaine what the devill should command us to say, and then present them presents of peace and union. Now we must live on what God sends, and warre against the bears in the meane time, for we could aime att nothing else, which was the cause that we had no great cheare. . . . We beated downe the woods

dayly for to discover novelties. We killed severall other beasts, as Orinjacks, staggs, wild cows, Carriboucks, fallow does and bucks, Catts of mountains, child of the Devill; in a word, we lead a good life. The snow increases dayly. There we make raketts, not to play att ball, but to exercise ourselves in a game harder and more necessary. They are broad, made like racketts, that they may goe in the snow and not sinke when they runne after the eland or other beast.

We are come to the small lake, the place of rendezvous, where we found some company that weare there before us. We cottage ourselves, staying for the rest, that came every day. We stayed 14 dayes in this place most miserable, like to a churchyard; ffor there did fall such a quantity of snow and frost, and with such a thick mist, that all the snow stoocke to those trees that are there so ruffe, being deal trees, prusse cedars, and thorns, that caused that darknesse uppon the earth that it is to be believed that the sun was eclipsed them 2 months; ffor after the trees weare so laden with snow that fel'd afterwards, was as if it had been sifted, so by that means very light and not able to beare us, albeit we made racketts of 6 foot long and a foot and a halfe broad; so often thinking to tourne ourselves we felld over and over againe in the snow, and if we weare alone we should have difficultie enough to rise againe. By the noyse we made, the Beasts heard us a great way off; so the famine was among great many that had not provided before hand, and live upon what they gett that day, never thinking for the next. It grows wors and wors dayly.

To augument our misery we receive news of the Octanaks, who weare about a hundred and fifty, with their families. They had a quarrell with the hurrons in the Isle where we had come from some years before in the lake of the stairing hairs [Bois Blanc island, as identified by Campbell, in lake Huron], and came purposely to make warres against them the next summer. But lett us see if they brought us anything to subsist withall. But are worst provided then we; having no huntsmen, they are reduced to famine. But, O cursed covetousnesse, what art thou going to doe? It should be farr better to see a company of Rogues perish then see ourselves in danger to perish by that scourg so cruell. Hearing that they have had knives and hattchetts, the victualls of their poore children is taken away from them; yea, whatever they have, those doggs must have their share. They are the coursedest, unablest, the unfamous & cowarliest people that I have seene amongst fower score nations that I have frequented. O yee poore people, you shall have their booty, but you shall pay dearly for it! Everyone cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men must eate the cord, being you have no more strength to make use of the bow. Children, you must die. ffrench, you called yourselves Gods of the earth, that you should be feared, for your interest; notwithstanding you shall tast of the bitternesse, and too happy if you escape. . . . Oh! if the musick that we heare could give us recreation, we wanted not any lamentable musick nor sad spectacle. In the morning the husband looks uppon his wife, the Brother his sister, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the nevew, that weare for the most part found deade. They languish with cryes & hideous noise that it was able to make

the haire starre on the heads that have any apprehension. Good God, have mercy on so many poore innocent people, and of us that acknowledge thee, that having offended thee punishes us. But wee are not free of that cruell Executioner. Those that have any life seeketh out for roots, which could not be done without great difficultie, the earth being frozen 2 or 3 foote deepe, and the snow 5 or 6 above it. The greatest susibstance that we can have is of rind tree which growes like ivie about the trees; but to swallow it, we cutt the stick some 2 foot long, tying it in faggott, and boyle it, and when it boyles one houre or two the rind or skinne comes off with ease, which we take and drie it in the smoake and then reduce it into powder betwixt two graine-stoans, and putting the kettle with the same watter uppon the fire, we make it a kind of broath, which nourished us, but becam thirstier and drier then the woode we eate.

The 2 first weeke we did eate our doggs. . . . in the next place, the skins that weare reserved to make us shoose, cloath, and stokins, yea, most of the skins of our cottages, the castors' skins. . . . We burned the haire on the coals; the rest goes downe throats, eating heartily these things most abhorred. We went so eagerly to it that our gumms did bleede like one newly wounded. The wood was our food the rest of sorrowfull time. Finaly we became the very Image of death. We mistook ourselves very often, taking the living for the dead and the dead for the living. We wanted strength to draw the living out of the cabans, or if we did when we could, it was to putt them four paces in the snow. Att the end the wrath of God begins to appease itselfe, and pityes his poore creatures. If I should expresse all that befell us in that strange accidents, a great volume would not containe it. Here are above 500 dead, men, women, and children. It's time to come out of such miseryes. Our bodyes are not able to hold out any further.

After the storme, calme comes. But stormes favoured us, being that calme kills us. Here comes a wind and raine that putts a new life in us. The snow falls, the forest cleers itselfe, att which sight those that had strings left in their bowes takes courage to use it. The weather continued so 3 dayes that we needed no racketts more, for the snow hardened much. The small staggs are [as] if they weare stakes in it after they made 7 or 8 capers. It's an easy matter for us to take them and cutt their throats with our knives. Now we see ourselves a litle fournished, but yett have not payed, ffor it cost many their lives. Our gutts became very straight by our long fasting, that they could not containe the quantity that some putt in them. I cannot omitt the pleasant thoughts of some of them wildmen. Seeing my brother allwayes in the same condition, they said that some Devill brought him wherewithall to eate; but if they had seene his body they should be of another opinion. The beard that covered his face made as if he had not altered his face. For me that had no beard, they said I loved them, because I lived as well as they. From the second day we began to walke.

There came 2 men from a strange countrey who had a dogg; the buissinesse was how to catch him cunningly, knowing well those people love their beasts. Neverthelesse wee offred guifts, but they would not, which

made me stubborne. That dogge was very leane, and as hungry as we weare, but the masters have not suffered so much. I went one night neere that same cottage to doe what discretion permitts me not to speake. Those men weare Nadoneseronons. They weare much respected that no body durst not offend them, being that we weare uppon their land with their leave. The dogg comes out, not by any smell, but by good like. I take him and bring him a litle way. I stabbed him with my dagger. I brought him to the cottage, where [he] was broyled like a pigge and cutt in peeces, gutts and all, soe every one of the family had his share. The snow where he was killed was not lost; ffor one of our company went and gott it to season the kettles. We began to looke better dayly. We gave the rendezvous to the convenientest place to celebrat that great feast.

The narration shows that the winter began while Groseilliers and Radisson were guests, as we may say, of the Huron and Menominee Indians, probably at Lac Courte Oreille, near Hayward, Wisconsin. The first snowfall, and the ensuing separation of the Indians into parties of two or three for procuring sustenance by hunting, took place, as we must suppose, in the later part of October or early November, 1659. Two months and a half later, that is, at some time shortly after New Year's day of 1660, they came together at a "small lake, the place of rendezvous."

This place was in the country of the Sioux, as Radisson tells us; and apparently from its vicinity, as he also says later, Groseilliers and Radisson went in seven days' travel to visit the prairie Sioux. To meet these conditions, I think that the appointed rendezvous, where severe famine prevailed, was at or not far distant from Knife lake, in Kanabec county, Minnesota, about fifteen miles southeast from Mille Lacs. Knife lake derived its name, as shown by Hon. J. V. Brower (in Kathio, 1901, page 43), from the first acquirement of steel knives there by the Isanti or Knife Sioux, probably in their dealings at this time with Groseilliers and Radisson and with the Hurons and Ottawas of their company. It is about ninety miles west of Lac Courte Oreille, and all the intervening country was good hunting ground, probably then, as later, a neutral and usually uninhabited tract, between the Sioux and their eastern neighbors. From Knife lake southwestward to the broad prairie region of the Minnesota river, where the prairie Sioux (the Tintonwans) lived, is only a hundred and twenty-five miles in a straight line, or somewhat farther, about seven days' travel by canoeing, or by a land march late in

winter, down the St. Croix or the Rum river to the Mississippi and up the Minnesota river. If, as is here supposed, Knife lake was the rendezvous, it was previously known and had been visited by these Hurons, which they might have done in connection with their journey from Prairie island up the St. Croix to the lakes of northwestern Wisconsin.

After the Indians had gathered at the rendezvous, little game could be captured, the snow being five or six feet deep, for the subsistence of the large company, who numbered probably a thousand or more. During two weeks a most direful famine prevailed, which was made worse by the arrival of about a hundred and fifty Ottawas with their families. Though these Indians brought little or no food, and were themselves starving before their arrival, they received a share of the scanty provisions and game of the Hurons, to whom they bartered the highly valued iron and steel knives and hatchets which they had obtained in trade from the French. With the assemblage thus increased to a total of probably fifteen hundred men, women and children, terrible starvation followed. They were obliged even to make a thin soup from their beaver skins. The "greatest subsistence," however, which was known to these Indians for such times of starvation, was a broth or soup made from the boiled, smoked, and powdered bark of a "rind tree which grows like ivie about the trees," evidently the climbing bittersweet (Celastrus scandens, L.). This shrub, climbing around the trunks of trees, is common in woodlands throughout Wisconsin and Minnesota, excepting the extreme northern part of this state, north and northwest of lake Superior. In these dreadful straits of famine more than five hundred died, as Radisson tells us; and he and his brother-in-law only narrowly escaped from death.

DEALINGS WITH THE SIOUX AND THE CREES.

Continuing his narration, Radisson gives a very interesting account of a visit by eight men of the Sioux, probably of the Isanti tribe living around Mille Lacs, and sixteen women bearing gifts, who came to Groseilliers and himself while they were still living apparently with the Hurons in the vicinity of Knife lake. This very remarkable visit and its ceremonies, with gifts, between the Sioux and the French traders, became probably the origin of

the names of Knife lake and river, and of this Isanti or Knife branch of the great Sioux nation or group of many tribes.

The time of the visit of these twenty-four Sioux is stated to have been "some two moons" after the famine; and again it is said that the grain brought by the visitors would have been welcome a month or two earlier. Accordingly we must consider the date of the visit and eight days of feasting with the Sioux to have been in the first half of March, or about then, ending near the middle of this month, in 1660. So many other proceedings are told, with allowances of time, for the latter part of the cold season, before the ice wholly disappeared from the west end of lake Superior, that it is necessary to assign as short estimates of time throughout as seem compatible with the successive parts of the narrative. This part runs as follows:

Some 2 moons after there came 8 ambassadors from the nation of Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe. Those men each had 2 wives, loadened of Oats, corne [wild rice] that growes in that countrey, of a small quantity of Indian Corne, with other grains, & it was to present to us, which we received as a great favour & token of friendshippe; but it had been welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonys in greasing our feete and leggs, and we painted them with red. They stript us naked and putt uppon us cloath of buffe and of white castors. After this they weeped uppon our heads untill we weare wetted by their tears, and made us smoake in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but in pipes of peace and of the warrs, that they pull out but very seldom, when there is occasion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our cloaths nd armour one after another, and to conclude did throw a great quantity of tobbacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all persons of their nation came to visite us, that we might dispose of them.

The next morning they weare called by our Interpretor. We understood not a word of their language, being quit contrary to those that we weare with. They are arrived, they satt downe. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more att our ease & to appeare in more state. We borrowed their Calumet, saying that we are in their countrey, and that it was not lawfull for us to carry anything out of our countrey. That pipe is of a red stone, as bigge as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reede as long as five foot, in breadth, and of the thicknesse of a thumb. There is tyed to it the tayle of an eagle all painted over with severall coulours and open like a fan, or like that which makes a kind of a wheele when he shuts; below the toppe of the steeke is covered with feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine collour. We tooke the tayle of the eagle, and instead of it we hung 12 Iron bows in the same manner as the feathers weare, and a blade about it along the staffe, a hattchett plant-

ed in the ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armours about it uppon forks. Every one smoaked his pipe of tobacco, nor they never goe without it. During that while there was a great silence. We prepared some powder that was litle wetted, and the good powder was precious to us. Our Interpreter told them in our name, "Brethren, we have accepted of your guifts. Yee are called here to know our will and pleasur that is such: first, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection, and for to shiew you, we, instead of the eagles' tayle, have putt some of our armours, to the end that no ennemy shall approach it to breake the affinitie that we make now with you." Then we tooke the 12 Iron off the bowes and lift them up, telling them those points shall passe over the whole world to defend and destroy your ennemyes, that are ours. Then we putt the Irons in the same place againe. Then we tooke the sword and bad them have good courage, that by our means they should vanquish their Ennemy. After we tooke the hattchett that was planted in the ground, we tourned round about, telling them that we should kill those that would warre against them, and that we would make forts that they should come with more assurance to the feast of the dead. That done, we throw powder in the fire, that had more strength then we thought; it made the brands fly from one side to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was some of our Tobacco, and make them smoake as they made us smoake. But hearing such a noise, and they seeing that fire fled of every side, without any further delay or looke for so much time as looke for the dore of the cottage, one runne one way, another an other way ffor they never saw a sacrifice of tobacco so violent. They went all away, and we onely stayed in the place. We followed them to reassure them of their faintings. We visited them in their appartments, where they received [us] all trembling for feare, believing realy by that same meanes that we weare the Devils of the earth. There was nothing but feasting for 8 dayes.

Soon after the earliest snowfall in the autumn, Groseilliers and Radisson had "sent messengers everywhere" among the Dakota or Siouan tribes, inviting them to meet for a great celebration of a ceremonial feast within five months, that is, at the opening of spring, when the French traders would give "presents of peace and union." At the rendezvous for the midwinter, supposed to be Knife lake, two Sioux had come to Groseilliers, Radisson, and the Hurons, in their temporary encampment, before the end of the time of famine; and to these Sioux envoys they had given "the rendezvous to the convenientest place to celebrate that great feast." The later coming of the eight men and sixteen women of the Sioux was a preliminary of the convention of delegations from all the Sioux tribes, called by Radisson "eighteen several nations," for the feast and parades to which they had been looking forward, with elaborate preparations and training, through all the winter.

The French traders designed, on their part, to make this celebration of feasting and spectacular exhibitions an occasion long to be remembered by all these Indians as the first time when they were witnesses of the superiority of the French, with their firearms, iron kettles, steel hatchets and knives, awls and needles, glass and tin-plated ornaments, etc. It was to be the beginning of a profitable fur trade for themselves, and for their successors during the future years. Prestige for France in her expected sway over these savage tribes was here to be established, somewhat as Jean Nicolet twenty-five years before had won the admiration, confidence, and commercial allegiance of the Winnebago Indians in eastern Wisconsin.

Some small tract of prairie, or of land cleared for cultivation, in the midst of the generally wooded country surrounding the former rendezvous, which we have identified as near Knife lake, was chosen by Groseilliers and Radisson, with their two Sioux visitors in January, to be the scene of the grand celebration in the spring. There a large area was paced out and was called a fort, where the tepees of the encamping Sioux could be seen from a long distance as they were approached across a meadow that extended along the course of a brook "more than four leagues."

After a few days of ceremonies, speech-making, feasting, and bestowal of gifts, it was decided to invite also the Crees, of whom a large party were known to be encamped at the distance of two days' journey northward. About fifty of the Indians, and Radisson with them, went therefore to this temporary Cree village, to extend the invitation; and meanwhile many Indians from all the region flocked to the place of the grand celebration to see "those two redoubted nations" meet for friendly rivalry in feats of strength, agility, and skill, and in dancing and music.

Probably about three weeks were occupied in the various ceremonies and festivities, from the time when the representatives of eighteen tribes of the Sioux first arrived, until the close of the feast, when "every one returns to his country well satisfied." The whole celebration thus extended, we may think, approximately from the middle of March to the first week of April. It was a very great event for the Sioux, who then, in their many tribes and bands, inhabited the greater part of the present state of Minnesota. Its story is appreciatively told by Radisson as follows, continuing directly from our last foregoing quotation:

The time was now nigh that we must goe to the rendezvous; this was betwixt a small lake and a medow. Being arrived, most of ours [the Hurons] weare allready in their cottages. In 3 dayes' time there arrived eighten severall nations, and came privately, to have done the sooner. As we became to the number of 500, we held a councell. Then the shouts and cryes and the encouragements weare proclaimed, that a fort should be builded. They went about the worke and made a large fort. It was about 603 score paces in lenght and 600 in breadth, so that it was a square. There we had a brooke that came from the lake and emptied itselfe in those medows, which had more than foure leagues in lenght. Our fort might be seene afar off, and on that side most delightfull, for the great many stagges that tooke the boldnesse to be carried by quarters where att other times they made good cheare.

In two dayes this was finished. Soon 30 yong men of the nation of the beefe arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, with very short garments, to be the nimbler in chasing the stagges. The Iron of their arrows weare made of staggs' pointed horens very neatly. They weare all proper men, and dressed with paint. They weare the discoverers and the foreguard. We kept a round place in the midle of our Cabban and covered it with long poles with skins over them, that we might have a shelter to keepe us from the snow. The cottages weare all in good order; in each 10, twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood layd for the fires. The snow was taken away, and the earth covered with deale tree bows. Severall kettles weare brought there full of meate. They rested and eat above 5 houres without speaking one to another. The considerablest of our companyes went and made speeches to them. After one takes his bow and shoots an arrow, and then cryes aloud, there speaks some few words, saying that they weare to lett them know the Elders of their village weare to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it with the ffrench, and that a great many of their yong people came and brought them some part of their wayes to take their advice, ffor they had a minde to goe against the Christinos, who weare ready for them, and they in like manner to save their wives & children. They weare scattered in many Cabbans that night, expecting those that weare to come. To that purpose there was a vast large place prepared some hundred paces from the fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of those persons. They weare to sett their tents, that they bring uppon their backs. The pearches were putt out and planted as we received the news; the snow putt aside, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The day following they arrived with an incredible pomp. This made me thinke of the Intrance that the Polanders did in Paris, saving that they had not so many Jewells, but instead of them they had so many feathers. The ffirst weare yong people with their bows and arrows and Buckler on their shoulders, uppon which weare represented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of the sun and moone, of terrestriall beasts, about its feathers very artificialy painted. Most of the men their

faces weare all over dabbed with several collours. Their hair turned up like a Crowne, and weare cutt very even, but rather so burned, for the fire is their cicers. They leave a tuff of haire upon their Crowne of their heads, tye it, and putt att the end of it some small pearles or some Turkey stones [turquoise], to bind their heads. They have a role commonly made of a snake's skin, where they tye severall bears' paws, or give a forme to some bitts of buff's horns, and put it about the said role. They grease themselves with very thick grease, & mingle it in reddish earth, which they bourne, as we our breeks. With this stuffe they gett their haire to stand up. They cutt some downe of Swan or other fowle that hath a white feather, and cover with it the crowne of their heads. Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are so bigg that your little finger might passe through. They have yallow waire that they make with copper, made like a starr or a half moone, & there hang it. Many have Turkeys [turquoises]. They are cloathed with Oriniack & stagg's skins, but very light. Every one had the skin of a crow hanging att their guirdles. Their stokens all inbrodered with pearles and with their own porke-pick worke. They have very handsome shoose laced very thick all over with a peece sowen att the side of the heele, which was of a haire of Buff, which trailed above halfe a foot upon the earth, or rather on the snow. They had swords and knives of a foot and a halfe long, and hattchetts very ingeniously done, and clubbs of wood made like backswords; some made of a round head that I admired it. When they kille their ennemy they cutt off the tuffe of haire and tye it about their armes. After all, they have a white robe made of Castors' skins painted. Those having passed through the midle of ours, that weare ranged att every side of the way. The Elders came with great gravitie and modestie, covered with buff coats which hung downe to the grounde. Every one had in his hand a pipe of Councell sett with precious jewells. They had a sack on their shoulders, and that that holds it grows in the midle of their stomacks and on their shoulders. In this sacke all the world is inclosed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dressed as the foremost. Then the women laden like unto so many mules, their burdens made a greater shew then they themselves; but I suppose the weight was not equipolent to its bignesse. They weare conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and flang their skins whereof their tents are made, so that they had howses [in] lesse than half an houre.

After they rested they came to the biggest cabbane constituted for that purpose. There weare fires kindled. Our Captayne made a speech of thanksgiving, which should be long to writ it. We are called to the councell of new come chiefe, where we came in great pompe, as you shall heare. First they come to make a sacrifice to the ffrench, being Gods and masters of all things, as of peace, as warrs; making the knives ,the hattchetts, and the kettles rattle, etc. That they came purposely to putt themselves under their protection. Moreover, that they came to bring them back againe to their countrey, having by their means destroyed their Ennemyes abroad & neere. So said, they present us with guifts of Castors' skins, assuring us

that the mountains weare elevated, the valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the bows of trees cutt downe to goe with more ease, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wett our feete; that the dores of their villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, weare open at any time to receive us, being wee kept them alive by our merchandises. The second guift was, that they would die in their alliance, and that to certifie to all nations by continuing the peace, & weare willing to receive and assist them in their countrey, being well satisfied they weare come to celebrat the feast of the dead. The 3rd guift was for to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if neede required, to receive and keepe them from the Christinos that come to destroy them; being allwayes men, and the heavens made them so, that they weare obliged to goe before to defend their countrey and their wives, which is the dearest thing they had in the world, & in all times they weare esteemed stout & true soldiers, & that yett they would make it appeare by going to meet them; and that they would not degenerat, but shew by their actions that they weare as valiant as their fore ffathers. The 4th guift was presented to us, which [was] of Buff skins, to desire our assistance ffor being the masters of their lives, and could dispose of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the warrs, and that we might very well see that they did well to goe defend their owne countrey; that the true means to gett the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gune, calling it *miniskoick*.

The speech being finished, they intreated us to be att the feast. We goe presently back again to fournish us with woaden bowls. We made foure men to carry our guns afore us, that we charged of powder alone, because of their unskillfullnesse that they might have killed their ffathers. We each of us had a paire of pistoletts and Sword, a dagger. We had a role of porkepick about our heads, which was as a crowne, and two litle boyes that carryed the vessells that we had most need of; this was our dishes and our spoons. They made a place higher & most elevate, knowing our customs, in the midle for us to sitt, where we had the men lay our armes. Presently comes foure elders, with the calumet kindled in their hands. They present the candles to us to smoake, and foure beautifull maids that went before us carrying bears' skins to putt under us. When we weare together, an old man rises & throws our calumet att our feet, and bids them take the kettles from of the fire, and spoake that he thanked the sun that never was a day to him so happy as when he saw those terrible men whose words makes the earth quacke, and sang a while. Having ended, came and covers us with his vestment, and all naked except his feet and leggs, he saith, "Yee are masters over us; dead or alive you have the power over us, and may dispose of us as your pleasur." So done, takes the callumet of the feast, and brings it, so a maiden brings us a coale of fire to kindle it. So done, we rose, and one of us begins to sing. We bad the interpreter to tell them we should save & keep their lives, taking them for our brethren, and to testify that we shott of all our artillery, which was of twelve gunns. We draw our swords and long knives to our defence, if need should require, which putt the men in such a terror that

they knewed not what was best to run or stay. We throw a handfull of powder in the fire to make a greater noise and smoake.

Our songs being finished, we began our teeth to worke. We had there a kinde of rice, much like oats. It growes in the watter in 3 or 4 foote deepe. There is a God that shews himselfe in every countrey, almighty, full of goodnesse, and the preservation of those poore people who knoweth him not. They have a particular way to gather up that graine. Two takes a boat and two sticks, by which they gett the eare downe and gett the corne out of it. Their boat being full, they bring it to a fitt place to dry it, and that is their food for the most part of the winter, and doe dresse it thus: ffor each man a handfull of that they putt in the pott, that swells so much that it can suffice a man. After the feast was over there comes two maidens bringing wherewithall to smoake, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered ffirst to one of the elders, that satt downe by us. When he had smoaked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went back to our fort as we came.

The day following we made the principall Persons come together to answer to their guifts. Being come with great solemnity, there we made our Interpreter tell them that we weare come from the other side of the great salted lake, not to kill them but to make them live; acknowledging you for our brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our owne; then we gave them a kettle. The second guift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generously defended themselves against all their ennemyes; and as we weare masters of peace and warrs, we are to dispose the affairs that we would see an universall peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not goe and force the nations that weare yett further to condescend & submitt to our will, but that we would see the neighboring countreys in peace and union; that the Christinos weare our brethren, and have frequented them many winters; that we adopted them for our children, and tooke them under our protection; that we should send them ambassadors; that I myself should make them come, and conclude a generall peace; that we weare sure of their obedience to us; that the ffirst that should breake the peace we would be their ennemy, and would reduce them to powder with our heavenly fire; that we had the word of the Christinos as well as theirs, and our thunders should serve us to make warrs against those that would not submitt to our will and desire, which was to see them good friends, to goe and make warrs against the upper nations, that doth not know us as yett. The guift was of 6 hattchetts. The 3rd was to oblige them to receive our propositions, likewise the Christinos, to lead them to the dance of Union, which was to be celebrated at the death's feast and banquett of kindred. If they would continue the warrs, that was not the meanes to see us againe in their Countrey. The 4th was that we thanked them ffor making us a free passage through their countreys. The guift was of 2 dozen of knives. The last was of smaller trifles,—6 gratters, 2 dozen of awles, 2 dozen of needles, 6 dozens of looking-glasses made of tine, a dozen of litle bells, 6 Ivory combs, with a litle vermillion. Butt ffor to make a recom-

pence to the good old man that spake so favorably, we gave him a hatchett, and to the Elders each a blade for a sword, and to the 2 maidens that served us 2 necklaces, which putt about their necks, and 2 braceletts for their armes. The last guift was in generall for all the women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!* that is, thanks. Our wildmen made others for their interest.

A company of about 50 weare dispatched to warne the Christinos of what we had done. I went myself, where we arrived the 3rd day, early in the morning. I was received with great demonstration of ffriendshippe. All that day we feasted, danced, and sing. I compared that place before to the Buttery of Paris, ffor the great quantity of meat that they use to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received guifts of all sorts of meate, of grease more than 20 men could carry. The custome is not to deface anything that they present. There weare above 600 men in a fort, with a great deale of baggage on their shoulders, and did draw it upon light slids made very neatly. I have not seen them att their entrance, ffor the snow blinded mee. Coming back, we passed a lake hardly frozen, and the sun [shone upon it] for the most part, ffor I looked a while steadfastly on it, so I was troubled with this seaven or eight dayes.

The meane while that we are there, arrived above a thousand that had not ben there but for those two redoubted nations that weare to see them doe what they never before had, a difference which was executed with a great deale of mirth. I ffor feare of being inuied I will obmitt onely that there weare playes, mirths, and batailles for sport, goeing and coming with cryes; each plaid his part. In the publick place the women danced with melody. The yong men that indeavoured to gett a pryse, indeavoured to clime up a great post, very smooth, and greased with oyle of beare & oriniack grease. The stake was at least of 15 foot high. The price was a knife or other thing. We layd the stake there, but whoso could catch it should have it. The feast was made to eate all up. To honnour the feast many men and women did burst. Those of that place coming backe, came in sight of those of the village or fort, made postures in similitud of warrs. This was to discover the ennemy by signs; any that should doe soe we gave orders to take him, or kill him and take his head off. The prisoner to be tyed [and] to fight in retreating. To pull an arow out of the body; to exercise and strike with a clubbe, a buckler to theire feete, and take it if neede requireth, and defende himselfe, if neede requirs, from the ennemy; being in sentery to heark the ennemy that comes neere, and to heare the better lay him downe on the side. These postures are playd while the drums beate. This was a serious thing, without speaking except by nodding or gesture. Their drums weare earthern potts full of watter, covered with staggs-skin. The sticks like hammers for the purpose. The elders have bomkins to the end of their staves full of small stones, which make a ratle, to which yong men and women goe in a cadance. The elders are about these potts, beating them and singing. The women also by, having

a nosegay in their hands, and dance very modestly, not lifting much their feete from the ground, keeping their heads downewards, makeing a sweet harmony. We made guifts for that while 14 days' time. Every one brings the most exquisite things, to shew what his country affoards. The renewing of their alliances, the marriages according to their countrey coustoms, are made; also the visit of the boans of their deceased ffriends; ffor they keepe them and bestow them uppon one another. We sang in our language as they in theirs, to which they gave greate attention. We gave them severall guifts, and received many. They bestowed upon us above 300 robs of castors, out of which we brought not five to the ffrench, being far in the countrey.

Among all the very interesting records of negotiations and treaties of "peace and union," made with the Indians of the Northwest by forerunners and agents of the French fur trade, none is more picturesque and dramatic than this. In the late autumn or winter of 1634-35, Jean Nicolet, wearing a fantastic silken Chinese vestment, met the Winnebago Indians for a ceremonious conference, in the vague belief that their country might border on the farthest eastern parts of Asia. In 1660, Groseilliers and Radisson, as we have seen, probably within the area of Kanabec county, in the east central part of Minnesota, taught to the Sioux and the Crees, previously hostile to each other, peace and friendship toward the French. In 1679, Du Luth ceremoniously planted the arms of France in the great village of the Isanti tribe at Mille Lacs, and in other Sioux villages of northeastern Minnesota, none of which, as he says, had been before visited by any Frenchman; and on the 15th of September in that year, at the west end of lake Superior, he negotiated a great treaty with the assembled tribes of the north, inducing them to make peace with the Sioux, "their common enemy." During the remaining years of the seventeeenth century, Perrot, in 1689, at Fort St. Antoine, on the Wisconsin shore of lake Pepin, and Le Sueur in 1693 at Chequamegon bay, later at his trading post built on Prairie island in 1695 according to the command of the Governor of Canada, and again in the winter of 1700 at his Fort L'Huillier, on the Blue Earth river, were conspicuous by their efforts to maintain peace among the Indian tribes, loyalty to the French, and consequent extension and prosperity of the fur trade.

We may thank Radisson for his particular care to describe the Sioux who attended the great feast. He thus gave the earl-

iest portrayal of the characteristics of that people, the aboriginal owners of the greater part of Minnesota. It is to be regretted, however, that he recorded only a very meager account of the ensuing visit of these French traders with the Sioux of the Buffalo Prairies ("the Nation of the Beef") in their own country.

Groseilliers and Radisson, according to the narration, went, immediately after the feast and probably in the company of the returning Tintonwan Sioux bands, by seven days' travel, to visit them at their homes. Their numerous tribes occupied an extensive prairie region, from eastern Iowa northwesterly through southern Minnesota to lakes Big Stone and Traverse and the broad, very flat, valley plain of the Red river of the North. It seems most probable that the French traders and their Indian escort went by the way of the Rum, Mississippi, and Minnesota rivers, passing the site of Minneapolis. Starting from the vicinity of Knife lake, as we think, very early in April, they spent six weeks in the visit, including in that time, we may suppose, the week of going and two weeks or longer of returning thence to lake Superior, so that their arrival at Chequamegon bay was probably within the last week or ten days of May.

Whether they went to the prairie country by canoes or afoot, the route seems to me to have been almost certainly along or near the courses of the Rum river and the Minnesota river. By traveling twenty-five or thirty miles daily, they would come in a week to the neighborhood of Swan lake and the site of New Ulm, in the same country where a hundred and seven years later Captain Jonathan Carver wintered, in 1766-67, with these prairie tribes. But if it be thought that "small journeys" could be no more than fifteen or twenty miles daily, the locality where they came to the camp of the roving and buffalo-hunting Sioux would be perhaps at the Shakopee prairie on the lower part of the Minnesota river, or perhaps even very near to Fort Snelling, or on the site of either of the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneaolis.

On the return to lake Superior, Groseilliers and Radisson accompanied a party of Ojibways who had been trafficking with these Sioux, probably buying furs, under the advice of the French traders, for their trip back to Lower Canada the next summer. The route of the return, doubtless by canoes, was apparently that most used by the Ojibways, passing down the Minnesota and

Mississippi rivers, by the sites of Fort Snelling, St. Paul, and Hastings, to the St. Croix, up that river to its headwaters, and thence by many laborious portages, and through small lakes and streams, to Chequamegon bay.

It is my belief that the journey going to the Prairie Sioux was made afoot, and that it reached as far as to the site of Shakopee, with its large prairie; or to Traverse des Sioux, with larger prairies; or, not improbably, to New Ulm, on the broad, far stretching prairies which continue thence uninterrupted for hundreds of miles to the west and south. As Radisson makes no mention of St. Anthony's falls, it may be supposed that the Frenchmen and their Indian companions, in passing the area of Minneapolis, took some footpath or trail through the west part of the city area, by lakes Calhoun and Harriet, to save distance in coming to the Minnesota river, so that they would not go within sight of the falls.

The return, with the Ojibway traders, was very surely by canoes. It is therefore quite within the limits of probability to picture in our minds these daring travelers and their Ojibway comrades encamping for a night among the willows of the Mississippi river bank where the union passenger station of the railways centering in St. Paul now stands, or else at the foot of Dayton's bluff, in the east edge of this city, where more than a century later Carver encamped with the Sioux from the Minnesota river.

A different route of the visit to the Sioux on their prairies is suggested by Hon. J. V. Brower,* with whom Mr. Alfred J. Hill was associated in the study of the early French explorations, indicating that the Mississippi was crossed by Groseilliers and Radisson "some thirty or forty miles above the present site of St. Paul," that is, near the mouth of the Rum river or of the Crow river, passing thence up the Crow river to its sources and onward west to a large village of these Sioux near Big Stone and Traverse lakes. The distance to be thus traveled, if the Frenchmen went to those lakes, was greater than by the Minnesota river to New Ulm; but they may not have gone that entire distance, as a large encampment of the Prairie Sioux for winter hunting and

*The Mississippi River and its Source (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. VII, 1893), pages 54-56; Prehistoric Man at the Headwater Basin of the Mississippi, 1895, page 45.

trapping may have been found in the partly prairie, but mostly forest country of the Crow river. It seems to me very much more probable, however, that the route was southward, instead of westward, from the mouth of Rum river. The reasons for this opinion are, first, that the Minnesota river afforded the most convenient navigable communication with the great prairie region; and, second, that the Ojibways could come there for traffic, as noted by Radisson, without going so far from their own territory. Thirty-five years later, when LeSueur built his trading post on Prairie island, it was on the neutral ground between the Sioux and Ojibways, being therefore chosen as a favorable place for promoting peace between these tribes.

In the Tintonwan camp of great tepees, covered with skins of buffaloes, the Frenchmen were told that these Prairie Sioux could muster 7,000 warriors, which, from what they saw, seemed credible. They were shown, probably, masses of native copper from the glacial drift, such as are occasionally found in eastern and southern Minnesota and far southward in Iowa; also masses of galena, brought by these nomadic people from the lead region of eastern Iowa and northwestern Illinois; and selenite crystals, "transparent and tender," from the Cretaceous shales, and from drift of Cretaceous derivation, on the high Coteau des Prairies southwest of the Minnesota valley.

The too concise description of the visit to the Prairie or Buffalo Sioux is as follows:

> This feast ended, every one retourns to his countrey well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of the beefe, which was seaven small Journeys from that place. We promised in like maner to the Christinos the next spring we should come to their side of the upper lake, and there they should meete us, to come into their countrey. We being arrived among that nation of the beefe, we wondred to finde ourselves in a towne where weare great cabbans most covered with skins and other close matts. They tould us that there weare 7,000 men. This we believed. Those have as many wives as they can keepe. If any one did trespasse upon the other, his nose was cutt off, and often the crowne of his head. The maidens have all maner of freedome, but are forced to mary when they come to the age. The more they beare children the more they are respected. I have seene a man having 14 wives. There they have no wood, and make provision of mosse for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from an other, that they gett in the valleys where the Buffe use to repaire, uppon

which they do live. They sow corne but their harvest is small. The soyle is good, but the cold hinders it and the graine very small. In their countrey are mines of copper, of pewter, and of ledd. There are mountains covered with a kind of Stone that is transparent and tender, and like to that of Venice. The people stay not there all the yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the North, where they kill a quantity of Castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world, but not in such a store as the Christinos, but far better.

Wee stayed there 6 weeks, and came back with a company of people of the nation of the Sault, that came along with us loaden with booty. We weare 12 dayes before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, which [is] the fitest time to kill the Oriniack. A wildman and I with my brother killed that time above 600, besides other beasts. We came to the lake side with much paines, ffor we sent our wildmen before, and we two weare forced to make cariages 5 dayes through the woods. After we mett with a company that did us a great deale of service, ffor they carryed what we had, and arrived att the appointed place before 3 dayes ended. Here we made a fort. Att our arrivall we found att least 20 cottages full.

The French brothers-in-law have returned to lake Superior, approaching it probably by nearly the same route as they traversed from it, and thus coming to the head of Chequamegon bay, where they had landed from their canoes the preceding autumn. Their first care was to get the merchandise that they had hidden in the ground on the other side of a stream near their little stockade fort. Next they plan for the promised visit to the Crees, in their country on the north shore of the lake. But in drawing their sleds, heavily loaded with merchandise and furs, on the nearly dissolved ice of the bay, Radisson was chilled and wholly disabled by sinking more than knee-deep in the cold water, which caused him a dangerous illness for eight days.

As soon as he had somewhat recovered, he was induced to set out on a journey through the forest with Groseilliers and a large party of "new wildmen." They appear to have traveled northwestward across the Bayfield peninsula, to the lakeshore some twenty-five or thirty miles west of Ashland and the head of Chequamegon bay. But on the third day, Radisson's lameness compelled him to lag behind the company, and for the next three (or five?) days he wandered on alone, until he was found by one of the Indians who were searching for him. Soon afterward he came to an Indian camp on the lakeshore, where he

found Groseilliers and a company of Crees. The lake ice had mostly melted, but many drifting masses remained, which endangered the canoe passage made at night across this narrow western end of the lake by Groseilliers and Radisson, following the Crees who crossed the day before. Apparently the passage was chosen to be at night in order to leave the Hurons and other Indians of their company unawares. We may be quite sure that it was explainable in some way for the interest of the traders in buying furs. Radisson asserts that the distance "thwarted" across the lake was fifteen leagues, or about forty miles;* but it really was only half so far, if my idea of the place of crossing is correct, as about midway between Ashland and the cities of Superior and Duluth.

The date of this crossing, when the ice had melted, excepting broken and drifting ice fragments, may have been as late as a week or ten days after the beginning of June, which accords well with our foregoing computations of the dates of events recorded during the entire winter and spring. Hon. John R. Carey, in his paper on the history of Duluth, written in 1898, states that he "knew of two men getting off a steamboat that had been stuck in the ice for several days, on the 9th of June, almost forty years ago, and walking to shore on the broken ice a distance of six or eight miles."* So late continuance of the ice in the lake adjacent to Duluth is infrequent; but it may perhaps have remained even later in the year 1660, when Groseilliers and Radisson were there. The crossing apparently was not earlier than the first of June, nor later than June 15th.

The narration, resumed from the preceding quotation, runs thus:

> One very faire evening we went to finde what we hide before, which we finde in good condition. We went about to execut our resolution, fforseeing that we must stay that year there, ffor which wee weare not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited untill the Ice should vanish, but received [news] that the Octanaks built a fort on the point that formes that Bay, which resembles a small lake. We went towards it with all speede. We had a great store of booty which we would not trust to the wildmen, ffor the occasion makes the thiefe. We overloaded our slide on that rotten Ice, and the further we went the Sun was stronger, which made our Trainage have more difficultie. I seeing

*The French league is 2.76 English miles.

*Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. IX, 1901, pages 270, 271.

my brother so strained, I tooke the slide, which was heavier than mine, and he mine. Being in that extent above foure leagues from the ground, we sunke downe above the one halfe of the legge in the Ice, and must advance in spight of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undoe us. We strived so that I hurted myselfe in so much that I could not stand upright, nor any further. This putt us in great trouble. Uppon this I advised my brother to leave me with his slide. We putt the two sleds one by another. I tooke some cloathes to cover me. After I stripped myselfe from my wett cloathes, I layed myselfe downe on the slide; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to goe. He makes hast and came there in time and sends wildmen for me and the slids. There we found the perfidiousnesse of the Octanaks. Seeing us in Extremitie, would prescribe us laws. We promised them whatever they asked. They came to fetch me.

For eight dayes I was so tormented I thought never to recover. I rested neither day nor night; at last by means that God and my brother did use, which was by rubbing my leggs with hott oyle of bears and keeping my thigh and leggs well tyed, it came to its former strenght. After a while I came to me selfe. There comes a great company of new wildmen to seeke a nation in that land for a weighty buissinesse. They desired me to goe a long, so I prepare myselfe to goe with them. I marched well 2 dayes; the 3rd day the sore begins to breake out againe, in so much that I could goe no further. Those left me, albeit I came for their sake. You will see the cruelties of those beasts, and I may think that those that liveth on fish uses more inhumanities then those that feed upon flesh; neverthelesse I proceeded forwards the best I could, but knewed [not] where for the most part, the sun being my onely guide.

There was some snow as yett on the ground, which was so hard in the mornings that I could not percave any tracks. The worst was that I had not a hattchett nor other arme, and not above the weight of ten pounds of victualls, without any drink. I was obliged to proceed five dayes for my good fortune. I indured much in the morning, but a little warmed, I went with more ease. I looked betimes for som old cabbans where I found wood to make fire wherwith. I melted the snow in my cappe that was so greasy. One night I finding a cottage covered it with boughs of trees that I found ready cutt. The fire came to it as I began to slumber, which soon awaked me in hast, lame as I was, to save meselfe from the fire. My racketts, shoos, and stokens kept me my life; I must needs save them. I tooke them and flung them as farr as I could in the snow. The fire being out, I was forced to looke for them, as dark as it was, in the said snow, all naked & very lame, and almost starved both for hungar and cold. But what is it that a man cannot doe when he seeth that it concerns his life, that one day he must loose? Yett we are to prolong it as much as we cane, & the very feare maketh us to invent new wayes.

The fifth day I heard a noyse and thought it of a wolfe. I stood still, and soone perceived that it was of a man. Many wild men weare up

and downe looking for me, fearing least the Bears should have devoured me. That man came neere and saluts me, and demands whether it was I. We both satt downe; he looks in my sacke to see if I had victualls, where he finds a peece as bigg as my fist. He eats this without participation, being their usuall way. He inquireth if I was a hungary. I tould him no, to shew meselfe stout and resolute. He takes a pipe of tobacco, and then above 20 pounds of victualls he takes out of his sack, and greased, and gives it me to eate. I eat what I could, and gave him the rest. He bids me have courage, that the village was not far off. He demands if I knewed the way, but I was not such as should say no. The village was att hand. The other wildmen arrived but the day before, and after a while came by boats to the lake. The boats weare made of Oriniacks' skins. I find my brother with a company of Christinos that weare arrived in my absence. We resolved to cover our buissinesse better, and close our designe as if we weare going a hunting, and send them before; that we would follow them the next night, which we did, & succeeded, but not without much labor and danger; for not knowing the right way to thwart the other side of the lake, we weare in danger to perish a thousand times because of the crums of Ice. We thwarted a place of 15 leagues. We arrived on the other side att night. When we came there, we knewed not where to goe, on the right or left hand, ffor we saw no body. Att last, as we with full sayle came from a deepe Bay, we perceived smoake and tents. Then many boats from thence came to meete us. We are received with much Joy by those poore Christinos. They suffered not that we trod on ground; they leade us into the midle of their cottages in our own boats, like a couple of cocks in a Basquett. There weare some wildmen that followed us but late. . . .

FICTITIOUS JOURNEY TO HUDSON BAY.

Without beginning a new paragraph, Radisson turns abruptly away from the Cree encampment on the north shore of lake Superior, doubtless somewhere between fifteen and fifty miles northeast of Duluth, and quite probably very near the site of the present town of Two Harbors (but possibly farther west, close to the mouth of Knife river, or farther east, at Beaver bay), where the Crees had so heartily welcomed these traders. In two short sentences he reaches Hudson bay, and before the end of the paragraph he supplies confirmations of this statement by saying that they found a ruined house bearing bullet marks, and that the Indians there told of European visitors, meaning evidently that sailing vessels had come to that southern part of the bay. This section of the narrative, including indeed a whole

year, from the arrival at the Cree camp northwest of lake Superior to the time of preparations for the return to Lower Canada, seems to me to have been fictitiously inserted by Radisson, nearly as he added a fictitious year, according to my conclusions before noted, in the account of his previous far western expedition.

At the end of his narration of that expedition, Radisson wrote: "My brother and I considered whether we should discover what we have seene or no; and because we had not a full and whole discovery, which was that we have not ben in the bay of the north, not knowing anything but by report of the wild Christinos, we would make no mention of it for feare that those wildmen should tell us a fibbe. We would have made a discovery of it ourselves and have an assurance, before we should discover anything of it." After reading these words, I have been very unwilling to disbelieve our author concerning the journey from lake Superior to Hudson bay, which was the chief object of ambition to both these explorers; but full consideration appears to me to show that Radisson here told to his English patrons, on a large scale and deliberately, for his personal advancement, what he feared that the wild Crees might have told to him, a fiction.

It will be preferable to give the continuation of Radisson's narrative, as follows, before stating in detail my numerous reasons for thus regarding it as false.

. . . We went away with all hast possible to arrive the sooner att the great river. We came to the seaside, where we finde an old howse all demollished and battered with boulletts. We weare told that those that came there weare of two nations, one of the wolf, the other of the long-horned beast. All those nations are distinguished by the representation of the beasts or animals. They tell us particularities of the Europians. We know ourselves, and what Europ is, therefore in vaine they tell us as for that.

We went from Isle to Isle all that summer. We pluckt abundance of Ducks, as of all other sort of fowles; we wanted nor fish nor fresh meate. We weare well beloved, and weare overjoyed that we promised them to come with such shipps as we invented. This place hath a great store of cows. The wildmen kill them not except for necessary use. We went further in the bay to see the place that they weare to passe that summer. That river comes from the lake and empties itselfe in the river of Sagnes, called Tadousack, which is a hundred leagues in the great river of Canada, as where we weare in the Bay of the north. We left in this place our

marks and rendezvous. The wildmen that brought us defended us above all things, if we would come directly to them, that we should by no means land, and so goe to the river to the other sid, that is, to the north, towards the sea, telling us that those people weare very treacherous. Now, whether they tould us this out of pollicy, least we should not come to them ffirst, & so be deprived of what they thought to gett from us [I know not]. In that you may see that the envy and envy raigns every where amongst poore barbarous wild people as att Courts. They made us a mapp of what we could not see, because the time was nigh to reape among the bustards and Ducks. As we came to the place where these oats growes (they grow in many places), you would think it strang to see the great number of ffowles, that are so fatt by eating of this graine that heardly they will move from it. I have seene a wildman killing 3 ducks at once with one arrow. It is an ordinary thing to see five [or] six hundred swans together. I must professe I wondred that the winter there was so cold, when the sand boyles att the watter side for the extreame heate of the sun. I putt some eggs in that sand, and leave them halfe an houre; the eggs weare as hard as stones. We passed that summer quietly, coasting the seaside, and as the cold began, we prevented the Ice. We have the commoditie of the river to carry our things in our boats to the best place, where weare most bests.

This is a wandring nation, and containeth a vaste countrey. In winter they live in the land for the hunting sake, and in summer by the watter for fishing. They never are many together, ffor feare of wronging one another. They are of a good nature, . . . having but one wife, and are [more] satisfied then any others that I knewed. They cloath themselves all over with castors' skins in winter, in summer of staggs' skins. They are the best huntsmen of all America, and scorns to catch a castor in a trappe. The circumjacent nations goe all naked when the season permitts it. But this have more modestie, ffor they putt a piece of copper made like a finger of a glove, which they use before their nature. They have the same tenets as the nation of the beefe, and their apparell from topp to toe. The women are tender and delicat, and takes as much paines as slaves. They are of more acute wits then the men, ffor the men are fools, but diligent about their worke. They kill not the yong castors, but leave them in the watter, being that they are sure that they will take him againe, which no other nation doth. They burne not their prisoners, but knock them in the head, or slain them with arrows, saying it's not decent for men to be so cruell. They have a stone of Turquois from the nation of the buff and beefe, with whome they had warrs. They pollish them, and give them the forme of pearle, long, flatt, round, and [hang] them att their nose. They [find] greene stones very fine, att the side of the same bay of the sea to the norwest. There is a nation called among themselves neuter. They speake the beefe and Christinos' speech, being friends to both. Those poore people could not tell us what to give us. They weare overjoyed when we sayd we should bring them commodities. We went up on another river to the upper lake. The nation of the beefe

sent us guifts, and we to them, by [the] ambassadors. In the midle of winter we joyned with a Company of the fort, who gladly received us. They weare resolved to goe to the ffrench the next spring, because they weare quite out of stocke. The feast of the dead consumed a great deale of it. . . .

By our ambassadors I came to know an other Lake which is northerly of their countrey. They say that it's bigger then all the rest. The upper end is allways frozen. Their ffish comes from those parts. There are people that lives there and dare not trade in it towards the south. There is a river so deepe and blacke that there is no bottome. They say that fish goes neither out nor in to that river. It is very warme, and if they durst navigate in it, they should not come to the end in 40 dayes. That river comes from the lake, and the inhabitants makes warrs against the birds, that defends & offends with theire bills that are as sharpe as sword. This I cannot tell for truth, but told me. . . .

If Radisson had made the long journey with canoes from lake Superior to Hudson bay, by any one of several possible routes, it seems very certain that he would have given some account of the route, more than to indicate vaguely that it was by "the great river." The only route that would suggest such description is the entirely improbable one by way of lake Winnipeg and the Nelson river. His claim to have reached Hudson bay is thus shown to be a fiction, because he would come to it by rivers of no great size. The error, curiously, is opposite to that which discredits his assertion in the former western expedition, that they came to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, where he failed to describe the necessary route thither by the greatest river of our continent.

Describing the fauna of the Hudson bay region, Radisson says that it "had a great store of cows," that is, buffaloes. This statement, as Dr. George Bryce remarks, is inapplicable to Hudson bay, which lies far northeast of the former range of the buffalo, its limits being in the vicinity of the lake of the Woods and lake Winnipeg, near the northeastern borders of the vast prairie area.

The most absurd error of our narrator is his assertion concerning the remarkable heat of summer days in that northern country, of which he had perhaps received exaggerated ideas from the descriptions given by the Crees. It brands the whole story of the travel to Hudson bay as false when we are told that eggs can be cooked there by the heat of the beach sand, and that

Radisson, in trying the experiment, left the eggs too long, so that they were boiled "as hard as stones."

The Jesuit Relations and Journal indicate only one year as the duration of this expedition, which would suffice for all the narration of Radisson excepting the year that he gives to his vague and erroneous description of travel to Hudson bay and spending the summer there. He says that they returned to lake Superior by another river, a different canoe route; but he makes no mention of seeing the Lake of the Woods or lake Winnipeg either in going or returning. In view of all these considerations, we must reject the statements of the French authors, Potherie and Jeremie, who say that Groseilliers and Radisson visited Hudson bay overland from lake Superior; and also that of the English historian, Oldmixon, who wrote that these two French explorers, coming to the lake of the Assiniboines (lake Manitoba or lake Winnipeg), were thence conducted by the savages to Hudson bay. Such claims were doubtless made by Groseilliers and Radisson, both in England and France, during the next twenty-five years, for the prestige to be thus obtained in proffering their services for sea expeditions and commerce in the Hudson bay region; but no credence should be given to this part of Radisson's narration.

Professor Bryce well says: "Closely interpreted, it is plain that Radisson had not only not visited Hudson or James bay, but that he had a wrong conception of it altogether. He is simply giving a vague story of the Christinos."

Oldmixon's statement that these French adventurers traveled first to the Assinibone country and lake Winnipeg is disproved by Radisson's description of that lake, based on his hearsay from the Indians. As we should expect, gross mistakes are admitted, as the estimate that it is larger than any of the lakes tributary to the St. Lawrence, and that its northern part is "always frozen." It is also noteworthy that Radisson makes no mention of the Assiniboine Indians in connection with these western expeditions, excepting that, at the end of his narration, their old name, Asinipour, is included in his list of "the Nations that live in the North." If he had traveled to the area of Manitoba, he could not have failed to become acquainted with the Assiniboines and to give some account of them.

Besides the evidence contained in the Jesuit writings of 1659-60, implying that these Frenchmen spent only one year in this second western expedition, and making no mention of their going to Hudson bay (for which indeed they could not have had sufficient time in an absence of only a year from Lower Canada), the Relation for that year otherwise adds to our distrust of the Hudson bay statement of Radisson. During the summer of 1659, when, if his narration be accepted, he and Groseilliers were going "from isle to isle" in James and Hudson bays, the Jesuit Relation informs us that a journey about Hudson bay was made by an Algonquian chief or captain, named Awatanik, who had been baptized ten years before in the country of lake Nipissing. This Indian, according to the Relation, went across from lake Superior and coasted "along the entire Bay," finding abundance of game, and conversing much with the Indian tribes there. Returning to the St. Lawrence region by a southeastern route, he was interviewed July 30th, 1660, on the Saguenay river by the Jesuit reporter for the Relation of 1659-60.* With such definite and full intelligence from the region of Hudson bay for the very year when Radisson claims to have been there, the Relation yet has no word of confirmation of his assertions, which, bearing many inherent marks of falsehood, seem from every point of view unworthy of our acceptance.

How far northward these traders advanced, we cannot determine; but to the present writer it appears quite unlikely that they went so far as to the northern boundary of Minnesota. Some writers have supposed that the "R. des Grossillers" of Franquelin's map in 1688 was named for Groseilliers, marking his route of departure from lake Superior to go to Hudson bay; but it seems better to consider this the Gooseberry river of the present map, translated from its Indian and French names, so designated for its abundance of wild gooseberries. From the same berries Chouart adopted his title, probably likewise given to a land estate owned by him at Three Rivers.* The map of Franquelin was apparently drafted for this part mainly according to information from Du Luth, who had recently traveled much west and north of lake Superior.

*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. xlv, pages 216-233.

*See Brymner's remarks on this name, as quoted in the Bibliography near the end of this paper.

THE RETURN TO MONTREAL AND THREE RIVERS.

Continuing from the last quotation of Radisson's narrative, it gives in the same paragraph the circumstances of the departure to return to lower Canada, apparently starting from Chequamegon bay, with a great company of Indians and very valuable furs, as follows:

. . . All the circumjacent neighbours do incourage us, saying that they would venter their lives with us, for which we weare much overjoyed to see them so freely disposed to go along with us. Here nothing but courage. "Brother, doe not lye, ffor the ffrench will not believe thee." All men of courage and vallour, lett them fetch commodities, and not stand lazing and be a beggar in the cabbane. It is the way to be beloved of women, to goe and bring them wherewithall to be joyfull. We present guifts to one and to another for to warne them to that end that we should make the earth quake, and give terror to the Iroquoits if they weare so bold as to shew themselves. The Christinos made guifts that they might come with us. This was graunted unto them, to send 2 boats, to testifie that they weare retained slaves among the other nations, although they furnish them with castors. The boats ready, we embarque ourselves. We weare 700. There was not seene such a company to goe downe to the ffrench. There weare above 400 Christinos' boats that brought us their castors, in hopes that the people should give some marchandises for them. Att their retourne the biggest boats could carry onely the man and his wife, and could scarce carry with them 3 castors, so little weare their boats. In summer time I have seene 300 men goe to warrs, and each man his boat, ffor they are that makes the least boats. The company that we had filled above 360 boats. There weare boats that caryed seaven men, and the least two. . . . .

Radisson says that in two days they arrived at "the River of the sturgeon, so called because of the great quantity of sturgeons that we tooke there," enough of these fish being dried to serve as provision for this large company during the next two weeks of canoeing along the lakeshore. It was doubtless the Ontonagon river, of which Dablon wrote, in the Jesuit Relation of 1669-70 (vol. liv., p. 151), as follows: "In the River named Nantounagan, which is toward the South, very extensive fishing for Sturgeon is carried on, day and night, from Spring until Autumn; and it is there that the Savages go to lay in their provision."

Before they came to the Keweenaw peninsula, they surprised a small camp of seven Iroquois, "who doubtlesse stayed that winter in the lake of the hurrons, and came there to discover somewhat." The Iroquois abandoned their boat and the camp

equipage, as a kettle, gun, hatchet, etc., and fled into the woods, The Indians accompanying Groseilliers and Radisson were greatly alarmed, lest they should meet many Iroquois, and resolved therefore to turn back and wait another year. With all the persuasion of the two Frenchmen, about a fortnight was lost in mustering courage again to advance. Radisson says:

. . . Twelve dayes are passed, in which time we gained some hopes of faire words. We called a councell before the company was disbanded, where we represented, if they weare discouvers, they had not vallued the losse of their kettle, knowing well they weare to gett another where their army layed, and if there should be an army it should appeare and we in such an number, they could be well afraid and turne backe. Our reasons weare hard and put in execution. The next day we embarqued, saving the Christinos, that weare afraid of a sight of a boat made of another stuff then theirs, that they went back as we came where the Iroquoits' boat was. Our words proved true and so proceeded in our way.

Being come nigh the Sault, we found a place where 2 of these men sweated, & for want of covers buried themselves in the sand by the watter side to keepe their bodyes from the flyes called maringoines, which otherwise had killed them with their stings. We thwarted those 2 great lakes with great pleasur, having the wind faire with us. It was a great satisfaction to see so many boats, and so many that never had before commerce with the ffrench. So my brother and I thought wee should be wellcomed. But, O covetousnesse, thou art the cause of many evils! We made a small sayle to every boate; every one strived to be not the last. The wind was double wayes favourable to us. The one gave us rest, the other advanced us very much, which wee wanted much because of the above said delay. We now are comed to the cariages and swift streames to gett the lake of the Castors. We made them with a courage, promptitud, and hungar which made goe with hast as well as the wind. We goe downe all the great river without any encounter, till we came to the long Sault, where my brother some years before made a shipwrake. . . .

Near the foot of the Long Sault, Adam Daulac or Dollard, and his handful of brave associates, late in May of this year 1660, had resisted 500 to 800 Iroquois, saving Montreal from attack and probable destruction by the sacrifice of their own lives. The scene of their heroic battle and death was examined by Radisson and his companions with amazement at the evidences of their valor, and with anxiety for the safety of Montreal, where they arrived the next morning. As at Quebec on their return from the previous expedition, the garrison greeted them by the firing of cannon, "with a great deal of Joy to see so great a number of boats that did almost cover the whole River."

Groseilliers and Radisson were less cordially welcomed at Quebec by the governor, Argenson, as appears in the continuation of the narrative.

Wee stayd 3 dayes at mont-Royall, and then wee went down to the three Rivers. The wildmen did aske our advice whether it was best for them to goe down further. We told them no, because of the dangers that they may meet with at their returne, for the Irokoits could have notice of their comeing down, and so come and lay in ambush for them, and it was in the latter season, being about the end of August. Well, as soon as their businesse was done, they went back again very well satisfyed and wee very ill satisfied for our reception, which was very bad considering the service wee had done to the countrey, which will at another time discourage those that by our example would be willing to venture their lives for the benefit of the countrey, seeing a Governor that would grow rich by the labours and hazards of others.

. . . . . .

The Governour, seeing us come back with a considerable summe for our own particular, and seeing that his time was expired and that he was to goe away, made use of that excuse to doe us wrong & to enrich himselfe with the goods that wee had so dearly bought, and by our meanes wee made the country to subsist, that without us had beene, I believe, oftentimes quite undone and ruined, and the better to say at his last beeding, no castors, no ship, & what to doe without necessary commodities. He made also my brother prisoner for not having observed his orders, and to be gone without his leave, although one of his letters made him blush for shame, not knowing what to say, but that he would have some of them at what price soever, that he might the better maintain his coach & horses at Paris. He fines us four thousand pounds to make a Fort at the three Rivers, telling us for all manner of satisfaction that he would give us leave to put our coat of armes upon it, and moreover 6,000 pounds for the country, saying that wee should not take it so strangely and so bad, being wee were inhabitants and did intend to finish our days in the same country with our Relations and Friends. But the Bougre did grease his chopps with it, and more, made us pay a custome which was the 4th part, which came to 14,000 pounds, so that wee had left but 46,000 pounds, and took away 24,000 pounds. Was not he a Tyrant to deal so with us, after wee had so hazarded our lives, & having brought in lesse then 2 years by that voyage, as the Factors of the said country said, between 40 and 50,000 pistolls? For they spoke to me in this manner: "In which country have you been? From whence doe you come? For wee never saw the like. From whence did come such excellent castors? Since your arrivall is come into our magazin very near 600,000 pounds Tournois of that filthy merchandise, which will be prized like gold in France." And them were the very words that they said to me.

Seeing ourselves so wronged, my brother did resolve to goe and demand Justice in France. It had been better for him to have been contented with his losses without going and spend the rest in halfe a year's

time in France, having 10,000 pounds that he left with his wife, that was as good a Houswife as he. There he is in France; he is paid with fair words and with promise to make him goe back from whence he came. . .

Radisson probably means so many livres Tournois or livres of Tours, nearly of the value of a modern franc, or about 19 or 20 cents. His imperfect knowledge of the English money and language misled him to write, throughout these paragraphs, of English pounds, where it would even have included some exaggeration if he had written of so many shillings, instead of pounds.

ACCOUNTS IN THE JESUIT RELATION AND JOURNAL.

The third chapter of the Relation of 1659-60, entitled "Of the Condition of the Algonquin Country, and of Some New Discoveries," gives first a long account of the travels and observations of Awatanik before mentioned, who spent the summer of 1659 in examining the Hudson Bay country, with much information derived from the Indians there and communicated by Awatanik to Father Jerome Lalemant, the writer of this part of the Relation. The remainder of the chapter tells what Lalemant learned, soon after his return from the Saguenay to Quebec, concerning discoveries by Groseilliers and Radisson, then arriving from their Lake Superior expedition. Their names are not stated, but the details of their journeying and of their visits with the Hurons and Sioux leave no doubt of their identity. In the Journal of the Jesuits, likewise written contemporaneously, Groseilliers is named as one of these two French pioneers of the fur trade. The Relation is as follows:

. . . Scarcely had I returned to Quebec when I found two Frenchmen there who had but just arrived from those upper countries, with three hundred Algonkins, in sixty canoes loaded with furs. Following is an account of what they saw with their own eyes; it will give us a view of the condition of the Algonkins of the West, as we have until now mentioned those of the North.

They passed the winter on the shores of lake Superior, and were fortunate enough to baptize there two hundred little children of the Algonkin Nation with whom they first made their abode. These children were the victims of disease and famine; and forty went straight to Heaven, dying soon after Baptism.

During their winter season, our two Frenchmen made divers excursions to the surrounding tribes. Among other things, they saw, six days' journey beyond the lake toward the Southwest, a tribe composed of the

remnants of the Hurons of the Tobacco Nation, who have been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land, and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they cannot be found by their enemies.. These poor people—fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and rocks, through these vast unknown forests—fortunately encountered a beautiful River, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison, they say, with our great river St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great Nation of the Alimiwec [Illinois], which gave them a very kind reception. This Nation comprises sixty Villages—which confirms us in the knowledge that we already possessed, concerning many thousands of people who fill all those Western regions.

Let us return to our two Frenchmen. Continuing their circuit, they were much surprised, on visiting the Nadwechiwec [Sioux], to see women disfigured by having the ends of their noses cut off down to the cartilage; in that part of the face, then, they resemble death's heads. Moreover, they have a round portion of the skin on the top of their heads torn away. Making inquiry as to the cause of this ill treatment, they learned, to their admiration, that it is the law of the country which condemns to this punishment all women guilty of adultery, in order that they may bear, graven on their faces, the penalty and shame of their sin. . . . Our Frenchmen visited the forty Villages of which this Nation is composed, in five of which there are reckoned as many as five thousand men. But we must take leave of these people,— without much ceremony, however,—and enter the territories of another Nation, which is warlike and which with its bows and arrows has rendered itself as redoubtable among the upper Algonkins as the Iroquois among the lower; and so it bears the name of Poualak, which means "Warriors."

As wood is scanty in supply and small in size in their country, nature has taught them to make fire with coal from the earth and to cover their cabins with skins. Some of the more ingenious make themselves buildings of loam, very nearly as the swallows build their nests; and they would sleep not less comfortably under these skins and this mud than do the great ones of the earth under their golden canopies, if they did not fear the Iroquois, who come in search of them from a distance of five and six hundred leagues.

But if the Iroquois goes thither, why shall not we also? If there are conquests to make, why shall not the faith make them, since it makes them in all parts of the world? Behold countless peoples, but the way to them is closed; therefore we must break down all obstacles, and, passing through a thousand deaths, leap into the midst of the flames, to deliver therefrom so many poor Nations. . . .

Exact dates of the departure of Groseilliers and Radisson from lake Superior, with their Indian company, and of their arrival at Montreal and Three Rivers, are supplied by the Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, which for August, 1660, has this entry:

On the 17th, monseigneur of petræa [Laval, titular Bishop of Arabia Petræa, and vicar apostolic for New France] set out for his Visitation to 3 rivers and Montreal with Monsieur de Charny and others, and with the 4 oiochronons [Iroquois of the Cayuga tribe]. He arrived at Montreal on the 21st, at about 5 o'clock in the evening. The Outawats had arrived there on the 19th, and left on the following day, the 22nd, reaching 3 rivers on the 24th, whence they started on the 27th. They were 300 in number. Des grosilleres was in their Company; he had gone to their country the previous year. They had started from Lake Superior in 100 canoes; 40 turned back and 60 reached here, loaded with furs to the value of 200,000 livres. They left some to the value of 50,000 livres at Montreal, and took the remainder to 3 rivers. They came down in 26 Days, and took two months to return. Des grosillers wintered with the nation of the ox, which he says consists of 4 thousand men; they are sedentary Nadwesseronons. Father Menar, father Albanel, Jean Guerin, and 6 other frenchmen went with them.

The last sentence here quoted has led several writers to infer that Groseilliers and Radisson returned again to the west in 1660, according to the assertion that Fathers Menard and Albanel "went with them." This expression, however, clearly refers to the large company of the returning Indians. We have no information of any later expedition by Groseilliers and his brother-in-law to the far west. Instead, as we have seen, on account of the exactions of the governor, Groseilliers went to France for redress; and the next expeditions which they took were sea voyages, putting forth their utmost efforts to aid the English in supplanting the French for the Hudson Bay fur trade.

Some writers also have thought one or both of these explorers to be Huguenots, or at least to have forsaken the Roman Catholic church when they entered the service of the English. On the contrary, their baptism of Indian children, probably by Groseilliers, is mentioned approvingly in the Jesuit accounts of both their far western expeditions; and I have found no indication that either of them changed afterward to Protestantism.

Observations of the Indian Tribes.

Radisson's writings contain a great amount of detailed information concerning the Indians with whom he dealt, roamed through the woods or prairies, canoed along the streams and lakes, and lived in wigwams and tepees. His pages of glowing

and minute description, recitals of addresses and parleys by the Indians and his brother and himself in the rude councils and festivals with the savages, and indeed the whole spirit and tone of his narrations, are redolent with the freshness and wildness of nature and of mankind in all this great western region as it was two and a half centuries ago. In reading these pages, the mind is transported backward a quarter of a millennium. We see the wild red men in their hunting of game, on the "road of war," and in the stealthy ambuscade; the women in their work of the lodge and the cornfields; and the youth and children in their pastimes, or, when famine befell, in the pangs of hunger even to death, with many also of the braves and whoever was old or weakened by disease.

Gathering throughout these narrations the varied threads of information of the Indians, and weaving them to present, as in a tapestry, the picture of savage life, the delineation of the Indian's character, his habits of thought and action, we can restore, in imagination, those bygone times when the aboriginal possessors of the country drained by the Hudson and the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, dwelt at peace in their several tribal areas, or often carried war and devastation against their neighbors and even to distances of hundreds of leagues.

Among the tribes to whom Groseilliers and Radisson traveled, or with whom they dealt in the fur trade, or against whom they were compelled to defend themselves in the canoe journeys to and from the west, those which more or less nearly concern our studies of the first white explorations in the area of Minnesota are the Iroquois, Hurons, Ottawas, Winnebagoes, Ojibways, Dakotas or Sioux, and the Crees. These seven tribes or stocks of the red men will therefore be briefly noticed in this order, which is based on their former geographic position, and partly on the sequence of their description in the narratives of the two western expeditions.

IROQUOIS.

In the area of the state of New York, between the Hudson and Genesee rivers, dwelt the Iroquois, whose war parties were dreaded by all the surrounding tribes. The name probably means, according to Horatio Hale, those who smoke the pipe; but Char-

levoix attributed it to an exclamation used by Iroquois speakers, as in a council, at the end of all their speeches. From a remote common ancestry, the Iroquois, while all continuing to speak the same language, had diverged into five tribes or nations, who had united in league before the first coming of the white men. This powerful confederation included, as Morgan estimates, at least 25,000 people at the period of their greatest prosperity and highest numbers, about the middle of the seventeenth century, when Groseilliers and Radisson made these expeditions.

In 1649-50 the Iroquois had conquered the Hurons, and within two years later the Ottawas; and in 1654 they nearly exterminated the Eries, acquiring undisputed possession of all the country about lake Erie. During seventy-five years, from 1625 to 1700, their raids of conquest and subjugation covered a wide region from New England to the Mississippi.

The Jesuit fathers, Radisson, and all writers on the history of this period, abound in testimony of the fear with which the other Indians and the French regarded these foes. The journeys of the fur traders and missionaries to and from the far west were practicable only by way of the Ottawa, Mattawa, and French rivers; for the route through lakes Ontario and Erie was debarred by the Iroquois. To undertake safely the trip down the Ottawa, with a year's collection of furs, required a very large escorting company of Indians, so formidable that the usual ranging parties of the Iroquois would not dare to attack them. As we have seen, several hundred Indians from the upper Mississippi and lakes Michigan and Superior made this trip with Groseilliers and Radisson on their return from both their western expeditions. Ten years afterward, in 1670, more than nine hundred Indians accompanied Perrot and four other Frenchmen when they returned from the west to Montreal.

The Five Nations of the Iroquois in Radisson's time were the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks. In 1715 they admitted the Tuscaroras into their league, a tribe of the same stock as shown by their language, who had lived before in North Carolina; and thenceforth they were commonly called the Six Nations. At the present day their descendants in northern and western New York, mostly living on reservations, number about 5,300, and in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario,

Canada, about 8,000; while nearly 2,000 Oneidas live on a reservation in Wisconsin, whither the greater part of that tribe removed in 1846.

They called themselves the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or People of the Long House, meaning the long tract of country from the Hudson and Mohawk rivers past the Finger Lakes of central New York to the Genesee and Niagara, which was their home. Thus they indicated the close relationship of the Iroquois League, under which, as their thought is expressed by Morgan, their several nations "constituted one Family, dwelling together in one Long House."

HURONS.

According to the Jesuit Relation of 1655-56, before cited, the principal bands of the Hurons, living in seventeen villages within an area of no greater extent than about fifty miles, had formerly numbered fully 30,000 people. From that home country southeast of Georgian bay, where they had depended largely on agriculture, especially the raising of corn, being mostly neither expert hunters nor practiced warriors, the survivors from the Iroquois attacks fled to Bois Blanc island and Mackinac, and to the region of Green bay and the Fox river.

The Tobacco nation, a more western band of this people, who had been so named for their diversified agriculture, notably including the plentiful cultivation of tobacco, went onward to the friendly Illinois tribe on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Thence, in company with some of the similarly exiled Ottawas, who had lived farther northwest, on lake Huron, they sought a permanent refuge and settlement in the region of the Upper Iowa river, nearly on the south line of the present state of Minnesota. Disappointed in finding no forests there, they advanced farther up the Mississippi, to Prairie island, in the midst of a beautiful country of forests and prairies, which they chose for their new home.

But in an evil day hostilities were begun by these Hurons against the Sioux, whom they thought to be at a disadvantage from their not having firearms. The greater numbers and superior prowess of the Sioux enabled them soon to harass the Hu-

rons and Ottawas so that they again relinquished their homes and fled into the forest of northwestern Wisconsin, on the neutral ground between the Ojibways, Menominees, and other tribes on the east, and the warlike Sioux on the west.

Nicolas Perrot, who came in 1683 to the Mississippi, by way of the Wisconsin river, and was engaged in trade with the Indians thence northward to lake Pepin during several years, until 1689 or later, is the authority for the temporary settlement of the Hurons and Ottawas on Isle Pelée, now Prairie island, where Groseilliers and Radisson spent more than a year with them. He wrote a treatise entitled, in translation from the French, "Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America." This was preserved in manuscript until 1864, when it was published by the Jesuit father, J. Tailhan, with important editorial notes and a very elaborate index.

Perrot had trading posts on lake Pepin, exerted a great influence over the Indians of Wisconsin, eastern Iowa, and southeastern Minnesota, and derived from them, and from the Indians and French of Chequamegon bay, the account of the wanderings of the Ottawas and Hurons, with their stay of a few years on Prairie island. It is given by his Memoir in its chapter xv, entitled, as translated, "Flight of the Hurons and Ottawas to the Mississippi." This statement is very important in its confirmation of the view that Radisson's "first landing isle" was no other than Prairie island; and therefore it seems desirable to give here a close translation of it, which I have made as follows:

When all the Ottawas were scattered toward the lakes, the Saulteurs [Ojibways] and Missisakis [who had lived on the north shore of lake Huron] fled to the north, and then to Kionconan [Keweenaw], for the sake of hunting; and the Ottawas, fearing that they would not be sufficiently strong to resist the incursions of the Iroquois, who would be informed of the place where they had made their settlement, fled for refuge to the Mississippi river, which is called at the present time the Louisianne. They ascended this river to the distance of a dozen leagues or thereabout from the Wisconsin river, where they found another river which is called the river of the Iowas [the Upper Iowa, heading in the southeastern part of Mower county, Minnesota]. They followed it to its source, and there encountered tribes who received them kindly. But in all the extent of country which they passed through having seen no place suitable for their settlement, by reason that there was no timber at all, and that it showed only prairies and smooth plains, though buffaloes and other animals were

in abundance, they resumed their same route to return upon their steps; and after having once more reached the Louisianne, they went higher up.

They were not long there without separating to go to one side and the other for hunting: I speak of one party only of their people, whom the Sioux encountered, took, and brought to their villages. The Sioux, who had not any acquaintance with firearms and other instruments which they saw in their possession, themselves using only knives of stone, as of a millstone, and axes of chert cobbles, hoped that these new tribes who had approached them would share with them the commodities which they had; and, believing that they were supernatural, because they had the use of this fire which had no resemblance with all that they had, like the stones and other things, just as I have said, they brought them to their villages, and afterward restored them to their own people.

The Ottawas and Hurons received them very well in their turn, without however giving them large presents. The Sioux came back to their people, with some little things which they had received from the Ottawas, distributed a part to the other villages of their allies, and gave hatchets to some and a few knives or awls to others. All these villages sent deputies to the Ottawas, where, as soon as they had arrived, they commenced, following their custom, to shed tears upon all whom they met, for indicating to them the unrestrained joy that they had in having found them, and to implore them to have pity upon them, by sharing with them this iron which they regarded as a divinity.

The Ottawas, seeing these people weep on all who presented themselves before them, considered it in scorn, and regarded them as people much inferior to themselves, incapable even of making war. They gave to them also a trifle, be it knives or awls, which the Sioux showed that they esteemed very much, raising their eyes to heaven and blessing it for having conducted these tribes into their country, who would be able to procure for them so powerful means to make an end of their poverty. The Ottawas, who had some fowling-pieces, fired them, and the noise that they made frightened them so much that they imagined that it was the lightning or the thunder, of which they were masters to exterminate whomsoever they would.

The Sioux made a thousand expressions of affection to the Hurons and Ottawas everywhere they were, manifesting to them all subservience possible, to the end of moving them to compassion, and deriving from it some benefit; but the Ottawas had for them so much less of esteem, as they persisted in placing themselves before them in these attitudes of humiliation. The Ottawas decided finally to choose the island named Pelée for their settlement, where they were some years in peace. They there received often the visits of the Sioux. But a day arrived when the Hurons, being on the hunt, encountered some Sioux whom they killed. The Sioux, in sorrow for their comrades, did not know what had become of them; they found some days afterward the dead bodies from which they had cut off the head. They returned to their village hastily to bring this sad news, and encountered some Hurons on the road, whom they took

as prisoners. When they had arrived among their people, the chiefs released them and sent them back to their tribe. The Hurons, having so much of audacity as to imagine that the Sioux were incapable of resisting them without weapons of iron and firearms, conspired with the Ottawas to attack them and make war upon them, in order to drive them from their country, and for themselves to be able to extend farther the range of their hunting. The Ottawas and Hurons joined themselves together and marched against the Sioux. They believed that as soon as they appeared, they would flee; but they were much deceived, for they resisted their attacks, and even repelled them, and, if they had not retreated, they would have been entirely defeated by the great number of the horde who came from other villages of their allies for their help. They pursued them even to their settlement, where they were constrained to make a poor fort, which did not permit them to be capable to make the Sioux turn back, even though they did not dare to attack it.

The continual raids which the Sioux made upon them obliged them to flee. They had acquaintance with a river which we call the Black river; they entered it, and, having arrived where it takes its source, the Hurons there found a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Ottawas pushed farther, and marched to lake Superior, and fixed their abode at Chequamegon. The Sioux, seeing their enemies departed, dwelt in peace without pursuing them farther; but the Hurons were not content to stop there; they formed some expeditions against them, which produced little effect, drew upon themselves on the part of the Sioux frequent raids, and obliged them to quit their fort for going to join the Ottawas at Chequamegon, with a great loss of their people.*

The narrative continues with warfare carried on by the Hurons, in the region of Chequamegon bay, against the Sioux of the country west and south. In 1670-71 these refugees, fearing a Sioux attack and massacre, abandoned their settlements on that bay, going again to live on the Manitoulin and Mackinac islands, in and adjoining the north part of lake Huron, whence, about eighteen years before, in 1652-53, this large part of the exiled Ottawa and Huron tribes had started on their travels to the Illinois, Mississippi, and Upper Iowa rivers, Prairie island, northern Wisconsin, and Chequamegon bay.

To my mind Perrot's narration is a complete proof that these refugees spent a few years on Prairie island, where, as has been shown, Groseilliers and Radisson visited them in 1655-56. Three years later, in 1659, the Hurons were found on the lakes

*Parts of the foregoing narrative, and further extracts from Perrot's work, copied in French and translated by Alfred J. Hill, with his own and Tailhan's notes, were published by this Society in 1867, and were reprinted in 1889, entitled, "The Geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota and the Regions immediately adjacent." (Historical Collections, vol. ii, pp. 200-214.)

at the sources of the Chippewa river, while the Ottawas had come to Chequamegon bay, or at least were there the next spring.

It is clearly known that the Hurons and Ottawas occupied Prairie island only four or five years, coming in 1653 or 1654, and departing probably in 1658, or perhaps a year earlier. Radisson says that in 1655 they had newly come to Prairie island. Before the summer of 1659 the Hurons had temporarily located at a lake in northern Wisconsin, thought to be Lac Courte Oreille, whence some of them, with Ojibways, went during that summer to Montreal and Three Rivers, afterward returning in the company of Groseilliers and Radisson. Besides, in harmony with Perrot's statement that the Ottawas came earliest to lake Superior, we have seen that in 1659-60 they were apparently just establishing themselves at Chequamegon bay; for, according to Radisson, in the spring of 1660 they built a fort on the long beach which incloses this bay at the northeast, now called Oak point.

In lineage and language the Hurons were of the extensive Iroquoian stock. The name Huron, from a French word, *hure*, was given to them by the French, in allusion to the ridged and bristling arrangement of their hair. Their descendants, known after their aboriginal name as Wyandots, now number some 700, about half being in the Indian Territory, and half in Canada.

An interesting sketch of the Tionontates, or Tobacco nation, from 1616, when they were first visited by the French, to the period of the Revolutionary War, was given by Shea in the Historical Magazine (vol. V, pp. 262-269, Sept., 1861). This branch of the Huron tribe, whose remnant, probably with other fugitive Hurons, we have traced in their wandering to Prairie island and Chequamegon bay, originally lived, according to Parkman, in the valleys of the Blue mountains, at the south extremity of Georgian bay. Their country, including nine villages in 1640, was two days' journey west from the frontier villages of the main body of the Hurons, among whom the Jesuits had very successful missions until the Iroquois devastated all that region.

OTTAWAS.

Franquelin, on his map of North America drafted in 1688, placed the Nations of Ottawas [Outaouacs] in Wisconsin and

northeastern Minnesota, indicating, erroneously, that it was a collective name for the native tribes of this region. It was often so used by the Jesuits and other early French writers, but not by the Indians. The Huron name for the Ottawas was Ondatahouats, signifying "the people of the forest;" and this name became shortened to Ottawas. The French nicknamed them as the *Cheveux relevez*, having crested hair; whence Radisson (pages 148 and 153) called them "the nation of the stairing haires." He also gave this name to lake Huron, where they dwelt, limiting his "lake of the hurrons" to Georgian bay.

From their former homes, on and near lake Huron and on its islands, the Ottawas had been dispersed westward, about the years 1650-52, by the incursions of the Iroquois. A part of the tribe fled, with the Tobacco band of Hurons, to the Mississippi, lived a few years with them on Prairie island and in its vicinity, and then passed north to Chequamegon bay. The escort of Groseilliers and Radisson on their return from Prairie island to Quebec included Ottawa Indians; and Radisson also particularly mentions the Sinagoes, one of the four principal bands of the Ottawas, as a part of the same escort. The Ottawa river received its name from its being the route by which these Indians came yearly from lake Huron to trade with the French on the lower St. Lawrence.

In 1670-71 the Ottawas, being driven from Chequamegon bay by attacks of the Sioux, returned to the Grand Manitoulin island, one of their ancient places of abode, in the north part of lake Huron, where the Jesuits established among them a flourishing mission. They belong to the great Algonquian stock, and their language is closely allied with the Ojibway. About 3,000 of their descendants live in Michigan, in the region of Mackinac, on Grand Traverse and Little Traverse bays, etc.; about 900 are on Manitoulin and Cockburn islands, lake Huron; and a few, about 160, are on a reservation in the Indian Territory.

A party of Ottawas, coming to the Hurons during the famine in the winter of 1659-60, obtained a share of their very scanty food supplies, increasing the severity of the general starvation. Again, on Chequamegon bay, Ottawas exacted a large recompense from Groseilliers and Radisson for aiding them when the latter was chilled and exhausted in dragging their sleds, laden with merchandise and furs, across the melting ice

of the bay. Remembering their conduct on these occasions, Radisson ranked them as the lowest among "four score nations" of the Indians whom he had known.

WINNEBAGOES.

Green bay was known to the French in Radisson's time as the Bay of the Puants, or Winnebagoes; and their name is now borne by the large Winnebago lake on the old canoe route from Green bay by the Fox river to the Wisconsin and the Mississippi. They were there visited by Jean Nicolet in the winter of 1634-35, and by Groseilliers and Radisson in the winter of 1654-55. From the Winnebago country our two French traders, with a hundred and fifty Indians, tramped on snowshoes in the early spring of 1655 to the Mississippi, and thence ascended this river to visit the Huron and Ottawa settlement on Prairie island.

The Winnebagoes were an outlying tribe of the Siouan stock, mainly surrounded by Algonquian tribes. Their name, meaning the People of the Stinking Water, that is, of the sea, was adopted by the French from its use among the Algonquins, just as the name Sioux was received from the Ojibway and other Algonquian languages. The populous and powerful Winnebogoes continued in possession of the same area during two centuries after they first became known to history. In 1832 they ceded their country south and east of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the United States, and afterward many of the tribe were removed to northeastern Iowa. Thence, in 1848, they were removed to Long Prairie, in the central part of the present state of Minnesota; and in 1855 they were again removed, to a reservation in Blue Earth county of this state. In 1863, after the Sioux outbreak, they were removed to a reservation in Dakota; and in 1866 to a more suitable reservation in Nebraska, where this part of the Winnebago tribe now numbers about 1,100. A larger number, stated by Grinnell as about 1,450, still live in Wisconsin.

OJIBWAYS.

By the early French voyageurs and writers the Ojibways were commonly called Saulteurs, from their once living in large numbers about the Sault Ste. Marie. Their area, however, also

comprised a great part of the shores of lakes Huron and Superior, with the adjoining country to variable distances inland During the eighteenth century they much extended their range southwestward, driving the Sioux from the wooded part of Minnesota, and also spreading across the Red river valley to the Turtle mountain on the boundary between North Dakota and Manitoba. In English their name appears, in a corrupted form, as Chippewas. Radisson called them Panoestigons, indicating this appellation to be an Ojibway equivalent of Saulteurs; and the same name is used in a few places, under different forms, Baouichtigouian, Pauoitigoueieuhak, Paouitagoung, and Pahouitingouach, by the Jesuit Relations.

It is asserted by Warren that the name Ojibway means, "To roast till puckered up," referring to the torture of prisoners taken in war. This seems to me to be a more probable origin than any of the several others that have been advocated, as the puckering or plaiting of the moccasin; a puckering of the lips in speaking or drinking; the drawling pronunciation of words, which is said by Belcourt to characterize these people; or the contraction of the lakes toward the strait of Mackinac, once their refuge from the Iroquois, or toward St. Mary's river and falls, as was suggested by Governor Ramsey.*

When Groseilliers and Radisson came to the Sault Ste, Marie, in 1659, the country was deserted, the Ojibways formerly there having fled westward before the fury of Iroquois rangers. Among the characteristics of the Ojibways which we discern in Radisson's writings is an aptitude for commercial enterprises, as they came yearly with their furs to Montreal and Quebec; and in the spring of 1660 Ojibway traders, after trafficking among the Sioux of the Prairies, returned with our Frenchmen to Chequamegon bay.

About 9,000 Ojibways are now living in northern Minnesota; about 2,200 in the vicinity of Devil's lake and Turtle mountain, North Dakota; 3,000 in Wisconsin; and probably 4,000 in Michigan. Their population in the United States is thus about 18,000. Nearly as many other Ojibways live in the Canadian province of Ontario, north of lakes Huron and Superior, and farther northwest in Manitoba: so that their entire numbers

*Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. v, "History of the Ojibway Nation," pp. 36, 37, 82, 107, 399.

are about 35,000. They are the largest tribe or division of the very widely spread Algonquian stock.

Both in Canada and the United States the Ojibways have generally manifested a disposition for peace with the white settlers. But in the early history of Minnesota, and during a hundred years before this territory was organized, they were almost continually hostile to the Sioux or Dakotas, with frequent raids, conflicts between small war parties, and ambuscades and murders by each of these wily hereditary foes.

William W. Warren, whose mother was an Ojibway, prepared, in 1851-53, an extended and very valuable "History of the Ojibway Nation," chiefly relating to its part in Minnesota and Wisconsin, which was published in 1885 as Volume V of this Society's Historical Collections. In Volume IX of the same series, published in 1901, Rev. Joseph A. Gilfillan, who during more than twenty years was a very devoted missionary among the Ojibways in the White Earth reservation and other large parts of northern Minnesota, has contributed a paper of 74 pages, vividly portraying the habits and mode of life of this people, their customs and usages in intercourse with each other and with the white people, their diverse types of physical and mental development and characteristics, and much of their recent history.

Conflicts which were waged long and fiercely between the Ojibways and the Sioux for the possession of northeastern Minnesota, and the results of extended researches concerning the artificial mounds and primitive men of this region, are set forth by Hon. J. V. Brower in three admirable monographs, Mille Lac, published in 1900; Kathio, in 1901; and Kakabikansing, in 1902.

SIOUX.

The aboriginal tribes and bands who were called by Radisson the Nadoneceronons (more commonly, by other writers, the Nadouesioux) or Nation of the Beef, that is, the Buffalo, inhabited nearly all of the present state of Minnesota, and also a large extent of the great prairie region farther south and west, in Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas. The Sioux and Assiniboines were first brought to the knowledge of Europeans in the Jesuit Relation of 1640, being reported to the writer, by Jean Nicolet, as living in the neighborhood of the Winnebagoes. In the Relation of 1642, information from Fathers Raymbault and

Jogues defined their country as nine days' journey beyond the west end of lake Superior.

Groseilliers and Radisson were the first of white men to visit the Sioux. They laid the foundation for fur trading, and counseled peace with the Crees and other tribes, against whom the Sioux, "the Iroquois of the West," had frequent wars. After the great "feast of the dead," when they thus sought to reconcile the Sioux and Crees, the French traders went to see the Sioux of the Buffalo Prairies in their own country. On their return to Montreal and Quebec, they described these travels; but, so far as the Jesuit Relations and Journal inform us, had not a word to say concerning the alleged journey to Hudson bay, which Radisson appears to have fabricated, telling it to the English in order to obtain better terms for service in founding the English fur trade there.

The locality of the feast and council with the Sioux, and with the Crees who were later invited, we have identified as somewhere on or near Knife river and lake in Kanabec county, Minnesota. These Frenchmen probably did not go to the very extensive settlement of the Sioux in the neighborhood of the mouth of Mille Lacs, only one or two days' journey westward from their Sioux and Cree feast. It is unfortunate that the name of that "great village of the Nadouesioux, called Izatys, where never had a Frenchman been," as stated by Du Luth, previous to his own visit there on July 2, 1679, was misread by Brodhead, in the original manuscript of Du Luth's letter or memoir, as "Kathio," transcribing *Iz* of *Izatys* as "K," and *ys* as "hio" (Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume IX, published in 1855, page 795). Brodhead undoubtedly had before him the same manuscript that was used by Shea for his translation in 1880 (Hennepin's Discovery of Louisiana, Appendix, page 375), and by Margry for his French publication in 1886 (Margry Papers, Volume VI, page 22). Neill, Winchell, Hill, Brower, Coues, and the present writer, have been misled into using the name Kathio by Brodhead's error. It has been so much used, indeed, that it may be well retained as a synonym of Izatys.

The name Sioux is the terminal part of Nadouessis or Nadouesioux, a term of hatred, meaning snakes, enemies, which

was applied by the Ojibways and other Algonquins to this people, and sometimes also to the Iroquois. Under this long Algonquian name they were commonly designated by the Jesuit Relations, by Du Luth and Hennepin, by La Salle in 1682 on the lower Mississippi, and Perrot in 1689 at Fort St. Antoine on lake Pepin, when they each took formal possession of this region for France, and by other early writings and maps. Soon afterward, however, in Perrot's Memoir, and in the journals of Le Sueur and Penicaut, it had been shortened to its present form; but, much later, Carver again used the old unabbreviated name, probably because of acquaintance with the writings of Hennepin. The Sioux tribes dislike this alien name, and call themselves, collectively, Dakotas, that is, allies or confederates.

In the narration of his pretended journey to the Gulf of Mexico, Radisson stated that the "people that dwelleth about the salt water . . . . are called Tatarga, that is to say, buff," meaning the buffalo, the Sioux or Dakota name of the buffalo being *tatanka*. He added that they went to war yearly against the Sioux and the Crees, showing that he supposed the Tatarga to be a distinct tribe or people. Again, in the account of his fictitious year in the second western expedition, describing the Crees in the region of Hudson bay, Radisson referred to their having "a stone of Turquois from the nation of the buff and beefe, with whome they had warrs." At the end of the narration of this expedition, Radisson gave a list of the names of thirty-one Indian nations or tribes in the South, and another list of forty-one nations in the North, noting in each case that many of these tribes had been destroyed by the Iroquois. The four names ending the latter list are Christinos (Crees), Nadouceronons (Sioux), Quinipigousek (Winnebagoes), and Tatanga, the last being certainly intended to be identical with the Tatarga here mentioned. Radisson says in the brief comment following the list of the South: "All these Nations are sedentaries, and live upon corn and other grains, by hunting and fishing, which is plentiful, and by the ragouts of roots;" and, concerning the tribes of the North: "The two last [Winnebagoes and Tatanga] are sedentary and doe reap, and all the rest are wandering people, that live by their hunting and Fishing, and some few of Rice that they doe labour for."

With little knowledge of the people named Tatanga, Radisson appears to have thus referred to one of the large divisions of the mainly nomadic Sioux of the western prairies and plains, the same which Le Sueur, writing about forty years later, called the Tintangaoughiatons, translating it as the Village of the Great Cabin or Tepee. This identification was first suggested by J. V. Brower and Alfred J. Hill in the seventh volume of this Society's Historical Collections. The translation is more properly rendered by Hennepin, as "the Nation of the prairies, who are called Tintonha," from the Sioux word *tintah*, a prairie. They are the present Tintonwans, Titonwans, or Tetons, comprising many bands of Sioux who ranged over southern and western Minnesota and onward to the vast country of plains west of the Missouri.

Some bands of this people of the buffalo prairies, imperfectly known to Radisson as the Tatarga or Tatanga, lived not far westward of Prairie island, and by their later hostility compelled the Huron and Ottawa refugees to forsake their temporary home there, fleeing into northern Wisconsin. These prairie Indians, not recognized by the Frenchmen to be the same with the Nadouesioux, as they were called by the Ojibways, were almost surely represented, under the name "ticacon," in the motley retinue, from many tribes, who went with Groseilliers and Radisson from Prairie island to Montreal and Quebec.

The Tetons now number about 16,000; all the other Sioux or Dakotas in the United States number about 11,000; and their small bands in Canada, about 850. The entire Sioux people are thus approximately 28,000. In the times of Radisson and Hennepin they had probably somewhat greater numbers. The former was told that they had seven thousand men, that is, warriors; and the latter wrote: "These Indians number eight or nine thousand warriors, very brave, great runners, and very good bowmen."

About 15,000 other Indians belong to the Siouan stock or family, which, besides the Sioux proper or Dakotas, includes also the Assiniboines or Stone Sioux, a tribe that seceded from the Sioux a few centuries ago, now numbering about 3,000; the Omahas, nearly 1,200; the Poncas, about 800; the Osages, nearly 1,800; the Winnebagoes, about 2,500, as before noted;

the Crows, some 2,000; and small remnants of the Kansas or Kaws, Iowas, Mandans, and several other tribes.

Near the Atlantic coast, numerous other Siouan tribes, some of whom were powerful, lived in Virginia and North and South Carolina, as made known by the researches of Hale, Gatschet, and Mooney; but they have dwindled until now only a few score of their people remain. From that eastern country the Sioux of the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers probably came by migration along the Ohio, passing mostly to the west of the Mississippi several centuries before the discovery of America.

After the conquest of the Mille Lacs region by the Ojibways, estimated by Brower to have taken place about 1750 or a few years earlier, the Mdewakantonwan Sioux, that is, those of Spirit lake, named Mille Lacs by the French, retreated to the south and established themselves on the Mississippi. Previously, in the year 1700, the vicinity of the Mississippi along the southeast border of the area of Minnesota was a neutral and mostly uninhabited country, called by the Indians a "road of war," as Le Sueur wrote, "between the Scioux and Outagamis [Foxes], because the latter, who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Scioux." Carver, ascending the Mississippi in 1766, found villages of Sioux, called the river bands, who had probably come from Mille Lacs since 1750, then living "near the river St. Croix," and his map shows them somewhat above that stream, in the neighborhood of St. Paul.

During the next forty years they extended much farther south. In 1805, Pike found the Minowa Kantong, as he wrote for Mdewakantonwans, beginning near Prairie du Chien and reaching along the course of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Minnesota, and also thirty-five miles up the latter river. These were the same as the Issati or Isanti tribe of Hennepin, who in 1680 and later lived in the region of Mille Lacs and the Rum river. They were apparently the largest tribe among the seven enumerated by Le Sueur as the Sioux of the East. Their descendants, now called Santees, number nearly 1,300, of whom about 1,000 are on the Santee reservation in Nebraska, and the others at Flandrau, South Dakota.

Leavenworth, in 1821, in giving his written testimony concerning the Carver land grant, said that the Sioux of the Plains

never owned land on the east side of the Mississippi; but already the former Sioux of Mille Lacs, having spread along this river far southward, deserved, as he thought, their distinctive designation as the Sioux of the River. They had become so fully possessors of the adjoining southwestern border of Wisconsin, previously owned by the Outagami or Fox tribe, that they exacted and received tribute for timber cut and rafted by Frenchmen from the Chippewa river.

Directly after the Sioux outbreak of 1862, nearly all of these Indians who had lived in Minnesota, belonging in numerous bands, fled or were removed to Dakota. Less than 200 full-blood Sioux remain in this state, and about 700 of mixed blood, mostly near Morton and Shakopee on the Minnesota river, in and near Mendota, at its mouth, and on Prairie island.

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, aided by other missionaries among the Sioux, prepared a very useful "Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language," which was published in 1852 by the Smithsonian Institution, under the patronage of this Minnesota Historical Society, being the fourth volume (338 pages) of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. The part of this work comprising the Dakota-English Dictionary, much enlarged, was republished in 1890, as Volume VII (665 pages) of the U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. But an ample history of the Sioux, similar to Warren's work for the Ojibways, remains to be written and is much needed. *

CREES.

North of the Sioux country and adjoining it, a vast forest area was occupied by the Crees, who, after the Ojibways, are the next largest tribe of the great Algonquian stock. Their name, spelled Christinos by Radisson, appears under a dozen forms, or more, in the Jesuit Relations and other works, as Cristinaux, Kilistinons, Kinistinons, etc. Rev. George A. Belcourt, long a missionary on the Red, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan rivers, stated, in the first volume of this Society's Historical Collections, that the Crees call themselves Kinishtinak, that

*After these pages are ready for the press, I receive the South Dakota Historical Society Collections, Volume II, published in October, 1904, containing, as its Part II, "A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indian,s" 523 pages, by Doane Robinson, Secretary. It treats briefly of the early history, but more fully of the last sixty years.

is, held by the winds, referring to their dwelling on large lakes where in windy weather they could not travel with their little canoes. In Radisson's time, the Cree canoes, as described by him, were so small that they could carry only one or two persons, being the smallest seen by him among all the Indian tribes. Their country then extended into northern Minnesota, to the northwest shore and west end of lake Superior; east to lake Nipigon and James bay; far northward along the southwest side of Hudson bay; and west to lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. Franquelin's map, in 1688, called lake Winnipeg the Lake of the Crees, and lake Manitoba the Lake of the Assiniboines.

Awatanik, who, as before narrated, traveled in 1659 along the shore of Hudson bay, told of the Crees there as follows: "He noticed especially the Kilistinons, who are divided among nine different residences, some of a thousand, others of fifteen hundred men; they are settled in large villages, where they leave their wives and children while they chase the Moose and hunt the Beaver."

Dablon, in the Jesuit Relation of 1670-71, wrote (vol. lv, p. 99): "Finally, the Kilistinons are dispersed through the whole Region to the North of this Lake Superior,—possessing neither corn, nor fields, nor any fixed abode; but forever wandering through those vast Forests, and seeking a livelihood there by hunting."

Within the next hundred years after the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, the Crees mostly withdrew from Minnesota and lake Superior, yielding to the encroaching Ojibways. At the present time their geographic area reaches from James and Hudson bays west to lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, northwest almost to Athabaska lake and river, and through Saskatchewan and Alberta to the Rocky mountains. In their western extension they were separated from the country of the Sioux proper by that of the Assiniboines, who, beginning at the Lake of the Woods and the Red river of the North, ranged over the prairies and plains of southern Manitoba, Assiniboia, and northern Montana. The Crees now number about 15,000, all living in Canada, and are the largest of the Canadian Indian tribes.

Traversing the eastern part of their country, which for journeys afoot is possible only in winter, one passes through forests alternating with small and large tracts of peat swamps, called muskegs, treeless or bearing a few tamaracks, and often inclosing a pond or lake. Hence the Crees in that region are commonly named the Swampy Crees. Northwestward, where the timber is more continuous, they are called Wood Crees; and those who roam over the shrubby and grassy expanses of Alberta are the Plain Crees. But through all their great areal extent, they differ only very slightly in tribal character or in their language, which is nearly related to the Ojibway and other Algonquian languages. It is also to be noted that generally or always they have maintained peace with their Algonquian neighbors, and also with the Assiniboines, who, when seceding from the Sioux, placed themselves under the protection of the Crees.

Eleven years after the council held with the Sioux and Crees by Groseilliers and Radisson, the earliest pioneers of the fur trade in Minnesota, St. Lusson, with Perrot as his interpreter, summoned to the Sault Ste. Marie delegations from many nations or tribes of the upper Great Lakes and of the country farther north and west. They came, at the time appointed, from fourteen tribes, including the Crees and Assiniboines. On June 14, 1671, aided by Father Allouez, Perrot, and about twenty others of the French, St. Lusson, as a representative for Louis XIV, secured the assent of these Indians to his taking possession of their country, formally and with imposing ceremony, for France, promising in return to protect the Indians against any invading enemies. This treaty, if it may be so called, aimed to ally the native tribes with the French in opposition to the English, who were then establishing their trade on Hudson bay.

More like the work of Groseilliers and Radisson, for cultivating peace among the Indian tribes and alliance with France, were the efforts of Du Luth eight years after the convocation at Sault Ste. Marie. His report reads as follows, translated by Shea, with slight changes in proper names to accord with the original French text published in the Margry Papers.

On the 2d of July, 1679, I had the honor to plant his majesty's arms in the great village of the Nadouesioux, called Izatys, where never had a Frenchman been, no more than at the Songastikons and Houetbatons, dis-

tant six score leagues from the former, where I also planted his majesty's arms, in the same year 1679.

On the 15th of September, having given the Assenipoualaks [Assiniboines] as well as all the other northern nations a rendezvous at the extremity of lake Superior to induce them to make peace with the Nadouesioux, their common enemy, they were all there, and I was happy enough to gain their esteem and friendship, and, in order that the peace might be lasting among them, I thought that I could not cement it better than by inducing the nations to make reciprocal marriages with each other, which I could not effect without great expense. The following winter I made them hold meetings in the woods, which I attended, in order that they might hunt together, give banquets, and, by this means, contract a closer friendship.

Between the second western expedition narrated by Radisson and this tour into Minnesota by Du Luth, we have no records of white men in this state. Separated by nearly twenty years, these forerunners of commerce and civilization earnestly sought, in the same region and by similar methods of persuasion, to win the Indian tribes to peace with each other and traffic with the French. A few years later came Perrot and Le Sueur, establishing trading posts on the Mississippi and on lake Superior, in the locations thought to be best for securing and maintaining intertribal peace, especially between the Ojibways and Sioux.

Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River.

As Groseilliers and Radisson have the distinction of being the first white men to reach the upper Mississippi, it will be desirable to notice the successive steps of discovery by which this great river became known to Europeans.

Recent historical researches indicate that it was earliest discovered and mapped in a voyage of Pinzon and Solis, with Amerigo Vespucci as astronomer and cartographer, probably in March or April, 1498, less than six years from the first landfall of Columbus. Twenty-one years then passed before the Mississippi was next seen in the voyage of Pineda, in 1519, being reached by ascending a bayou from lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas. In 1528 one of the mouths of the Mississippi was seen in the forlorn last voyage of Narvaez; and in 1541 this river was crossed, far above its mouth, by the ambitious but

ill-fated expedition of De Soto, and after his death it was descended by the survivors in boats to the gulf. Four times the Spaniards, within a period of forty-three years, reached by sea and by land the lower part of the Mississippi. They sought gold or silver in vain, and the extreme disasters of the two last expeditions caused them to abandon their purpose of planting colonies and making this region a part of New Spain. The entire river, excepting its sources, was to be explored and owned by others, but much later, for acquiring wealth by commerce, and for extending the dominion of France.

More than a hundred years after De Soto, the Mississippi was rediscovered by Europeans, this time in its upper course, when our two Frenchmen in 1655, with many Indian canoes, ascended it from near the Wisconsin river to Prairie island; and they crossed it higher, at or near the site of Minneapolis, in 1660.

Eighteen years after Groseilliers and Radisson first came, Joliet and Marquette navigated the Mississippi for a long distance southward from the Wisconsin river, to the Arkansas; and again, after seven years more, in 1680, it was navigated between the Illinois and the Rum river by Hennepin, and also, above the Wisconsin, by Du Luth. In 1682 La Salle led an expedition from the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi, and there proclaimed its vast drainage area to be the property of France. A few years later, about 1685-90, Le Sueur and his relative by marriage, Charleville, canoed from lake Pepin upward beyond the falls of St. Anthony, probably to Sandy lake; and in the last year of the seventeenth century, just forty-five years after Groseilliers superintended corn-raising by the Hurons on Prairie island, Le Sueur and a large mining party navigated the whole extent of the Mississippi from near its mouth to the Minnesota river, and then advanced up that stream to the Blue Earth river.

To glance somewhat more definitely at these several stages of exploration of our great river, during the first two centuries of its written history, will give a more adequate comprehension of what these earliest white men in Minnesota might have contributed to geographic knowledge, if they had surmised the length and magnitude of the Mississippi, and had not chosen to conceal their discoveries from their countrymen.

VESPUCCI, 1498.

Without seeking or suggestion by himself, the name of Amerigo Vespucci (also commonly known, in Latin as Americus Vespucius) was bestowed upon the New World, of which, next after Columbus, he was the most notable discoverer in the sense of bringing to the knowledge of Europe what he saw in four voyages. Though not in chief command of these expeditions, Vespucci was a skilled geographer, and his services as astronomer and pilot were required to determine and chart their courses, with the newly discovered lands. His letters of description, written to friends without expectation of publication, were printed and proved to be of such popular interest that they passed through many editions and translations, leading to the adoption of the name America, after his death, on maps and globes. It was at first applied to Brazil, which Vespucci coasted on his second, third, and fourth voyages, and was later extended to both North and South America. In his first voyage, with four vessels, leaving Spain May 10, 1497, and returning October 15, 1498, he appears to have sailed along the shores of Honduras, Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, Florida, and our southeastern seaboard north to Pamlico sound.

Between Vespucci and Columbus a cordial and mutual friendship existed, and the Florentine pilot had no wish nor thought of taking away from the Genoese admiral any part of the honor and gratitude due to him. Both sailed in the service of Spain, but Vespucci also made two voyages for Portugal. It was a Latin book by a German geographer, Waldseemüller, published in the little college town of St. Dié, in a valley of the Vosges mountains of northeastern France, April 25, 1507, which first proposed the name America for the region described by Vespucci south of the equator. There was at that time no intention to include under it the countries farther north discovered and explored by Columbus, Cabot, and other navigators. Winsor and Fiske have traced very instructively the growth of European knowledge of the New World, whereby it was finally learned that all the coasts explored from Labrador to the strait of Magellan are connected parts of one vast continent, on which Mercator bestowed the single name America in 1541, twenty-nine years after Vespucci's death.

Succeeding generations long imputed blame to Vespucci for this supplanting of Columbus in the name of the new continent; but either would have scorned to wrong the other, or to falsify or exaggerate intentionally in the narrations of their voyages. The personal honor of Vespucci has been vindicated by the researches of Alexander Humboldt and the Brazilian historian, Varnhagen; and the latter, in 1865 and 1869, well ascertained that Vespucci's first voyage, made in 1497-98, concerning which much doubt and misunderstanding remained because of the lack of many details in the narration, was the source of the first mapping of Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, and Florida. In Vespucci's chart of that very early date the Mississippi river was unmistakably delineated, with a three-mouthed delta projecting into the gulf.

Varnhagen's luminous researches, published between thirty and forty years ago, were brought more fully to the attention of readers of our English language by Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1883 (Central America, vol i, pp. 99-107), and especially by John Fiske's work, The Discovery of America, published in 1892. No official reports nor chart of Vespucci's first voyage, which was probably under the commandership of Pinzon and Solis, are preserved; but two very early maps, called the Cantino map and the Admiral's map, evidently drafted in part from the chart of that expedition, still exist, and were essentially reproduced ten years ago by Harrisse, Winsor, and Fiske, in their elaborate discussions of the Columbian and later discoveries.

Waldseemüller, the geographer at St. Dié, drafted the second of these maps, at some date probably after 1504 and certainly not later than 1508. It was published at Strasburg in an edition of Ptolemy in 1513, and was entitled "Tabula Terre Nove." It contains a reference to a "former Admiral," probably Columbus. This map bears testimony of an expedition, regarded as the one described by Vespucci as his first voyage, which passed the Mississippi and charted its mouths; for, west of the Atlantic coast and Florida, where the shores and names are closely like the Cantino map, Waldseemüller gave a distorted outline of the Gulf of Mexico, with a large river emptying into it by three mouths, pushing its delta far into the gulf, in which respect the Mississippi surpasses any other river, this being in-

deed the most remarkable feature of its embouchure. I cannot doubt, therefore, that Vespucci sailed past the Mississippi delta early in the year 1498, surveying the mouths of the river from the masthead, or very likely entering the river and spending some time there.

PINEDA, 1519.

The exploration of this coast was not resumed until Ponce de Leon voyaged to Florida and gave it this name for Easter Sunday (Pascua Florida), March 27, 1513, when he sighted its low coast. Six years later, in 1519, Alonso Alvarez de Pineda (or Pinedo) was sent as commander of an expedition of three or four sailing vessels to explore the coast farther west, under a commission from Garay, the governor of the Spanish settlement in Jamaica. The resulting map, transmitted by Garay to Spain, gives a somewhat correctly proportioned outline of the entire gulf, with Florida, Cuba, and Yucatan inclosing it on the east; and the Mississippi is named Rio del Espiritu Santo (River of the Holy Spirit). In Harrisse's Discovery of North America (1892, p. 168), a translation from the contemporary Spanish acount of this expedition says, concerning the Mississippi, that the ships "entered a river which was found to be very large and very deep, at the mouth of which they say they found an extensive town, where they remained forty days and careened their vessels. The natives treated our men in a friendly manner, trading with them, and giving what they possessed. The Spaniards ascended a distance of six leagues up the river, and saw on its banks, right and left, forty villages."

Pineda's map shows the Mississippi as if it had a wide mouth, growing wider like a bay in going inland, and it has no representation of the delta; but this river and the several others tributary to the gulf are all mapped only at their mouths. What he meant for the Mississippi is more clearly indicated by the map sent to Spain by Cortes and published there in 1524, which shows the Rio del Espiritu Santo flowing through two lakes close to its mouth, evidently intended to represent lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne. The same delineation of the lower Mississippi is given also by the Turin map, of about the year 1523. Both these maps, doubtless based on information supplied by Pineda, dis-

play the course of the Mississippi above lake Pontchartrain to a distance of apparently at least a hundred miles, where it is represented as formed by three confluent streams. Through questioning the Indians, he probably learned of the Red river, and of its northern tributary, the Black river, which would be the two inflowing streams at nearly the distance mentioned from lake Pontchartrain.

The little ships of Pineda's expedition therefore must be supposed, according to these maps, to have entered the Mississippi by one of its numerous outflowing navigable bayous, which, before the construction of levees, discharged a considerable part of the waters of the great river through lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne. The Indian town noted at the mouth of the river may have been at the mouth of the bayou, that is, on or near lake Maurepas; or it may have been near the chief place of outflow from the main river, which most probably then, as in recent times, was at the Bayou Manchac, 117 miles above the site of New Orleans by the course of the river, and 14 miles below Baton Rouge. There is no reason to distrust the statement that within six leagues thence up the Mississippi the Spaniards observed forty groups of temporary or permanent Indian dwellings. If the ships only entered the mouth of the bayou (or of the Amite river, through which the several bayous send their waters to the lake), being there careened and repaired, it is easy to infer that some of the Spaniards ascended the Amite river and the Bayou Manchac in small boats to the Mississippi, noted the width of that mighty stream, sounded its great depth, and reported its Indian villages. The delta, jutting out as a long cape, was neglected by Pineda in his mapping, which was accepted generally by cartographers. The chart of Vesucci's first voyage, more truthful as to this river's embouchure, had been lost and forgotten.

Harrisse, from a thorough study of records of Pineda's cruise, concludes that he came to the Mississippi in April or May, 1519, remained at the Indian town forty days, as stated, and went onward, exploring the coast of Louisiana and Texas, in June and July. He coasted beyond the Panuco river, but turned back when he reached the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, already occupied by Cortes. The next year Pineda again voyaged to the

Panuco, with many men and horses, to establish a colony, in which endeavor he and most of his company were killed by the Indians.

The recent discussions of Pineda's discoveries by Dr. Walter B. Scaife and others, who think that the Rio del Espiritu Santo was not the Mississippi, but that it was the Mobile river, with the Mobile bay at its mouth, will be most properly considered after our further notice of the route of Moscoso in the retreat down the Mississippi after De Soto's death, and of the route of Le Sueur, who was the first to pass along almost the entire navigable length of this river.

NARVAEZ, 1528.

Grandly but ignorantly planned, the expedition of Pamphilo (or Panfilo) de Narvaez, for exploration and colonization of the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, from Florida westward nearly to the Panuco river, over which he had been given the title of governor, was most utterly disastrous. Out of the three hundred men who began this expedition, only Cabeza de Vaca, the historian of their shipwrecks and wanderings, with three others, survived to reach Spanish settlements.

In April, 1528, after a stormy voyage from Cuba, Narvaez landed on the west coast of Florida, probably at Tampa bay. With great hardships, the expedition, mostly afoot, but having forty horses, marched through woods and swamps, crossed rivers, found an Indian town called Apalachen, and, finally turning back, came again to the sea, probably at the site of St. Mark's, about fifty miles east of the Appalachicola river. Not finding his ships, on which he expected to re-embark, Narvaez consulted his followers, and they decided, although destitute of tools, to construct boats, and voyage westward along the coast. More than forty had died of disease and hunger, and ten had been killed, within sight of their camp and boat-building, by arrows of Indian foes, before they embarked, late in September, reduced to the number of two hundred and forty-seven, in five frail vessels, to be propelled by oars, but also provided with sails. They had no adequate means to carry water, and consequently suffered terribly by thirst, as also by hunger. On the sea they were in great peril during storms; and on landing they were assailed by the Indians with stones and arrows.

About the end of October the wretched flotilla reached the Mississippi, of which Cabeza de Vaca wrote in his Relation, as translated by Buckingham Smith:

> My boat, which was first, discovered a point made by the land, and, against a cape opposite, passed a broad river. I cast anchor near a little island forming the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The Governor did not choose to come up, and entered a bay near by in which were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, the stream entering it in freshet. To parch some of the maize we brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on an island; but finding no wood we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain the land. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and found with thirty fathoms we could not get bottom; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves that the current was not the cause of failure.

During the next week the boats, being rowed and drifted westward, were separated by storms; that of Narvaez may have foundered; others were driven ashore and wrecked. Those of the men who escaped from the sea mostly perished by hunger and cold, while some were enslaved by the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca was held in servitude on and near the island where he was wrecked, probably the island of Galveston, during about six years. Thence escaping, with two Spaniards and a negro of their company, he wandered across Texas, Chihuahua, and Sonora, securing the friendly aid of the Indians all the way, and finally coming to the Spanish on the Pacific coast, near the mouth of the Gulf of California, at the end of March, 1536. The next year he returned to Spain, where his Relation was published in 1542. A map of his wanderings was made in Mexico for the viceroy, but it has not been preserved. No addition to the knowledge of the Mississippi was derived from this expedition.

DE SOTO, 1541-42.

Grander, equally foolhardy, and scarcely less direful, was the expedition of Hernando (Ferdinand) de Soto, similarly planned for discoveries, conquest, and the establishment of a colonial government. He attained to a possession of the country granted to him, but only by burial in its great river.

By a strange infatuation, Cabeza de Vaca, arriving in Spain and being questioned by his kinsfolk, gave to them the impression that Florida, then including a large region northwest of the peninsula, was "the richest country in the world." This was near the truth, if understood with reference to capabilities for agriculture; but the Spaniards pictured such wealth of gold and silver as had been recently plundered from Peru and Mexico. A soldier of fortune, De Soto, who was of noble lineage, but poor, having become suddenly rich with Pizarro from the spoils of Peru, was eager for greater wealth and power. Returning to Spain, he secured appointment as governor of Cuba, with a commission to extend Spanish dominion over Florida and the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, where he was to be the feudal lord and governor. It was the same commission as that which had lured Narvaez to his death; but it was thought to be a sure passport to great wealth. Many young gentlemen of the noblest families in Spain, and some from Elvas in Portugal, flocked to De Soto's standard. One of the Portuguese, whose name is unknown, wrote the narrative, published in 1557, which is our chief source of information concerning the route and history of the expedition.* There were more volunteers than could be accepted; and, after an exultant voyage to Cuba and thence to Florida, De Soto landed, with about 600 men and 213 horses, at Tampa bay, May 30 (old style), 1539.

Almost two years were spent in marches through inhospitable forests and swamps, fording rivers, and fighting with many tribes of Indians, but finding nothing worth plundering, with much suffering in the winter camps, until, in the spring of 1541, the weary and wellnigh despairing expedition came to the Mississippi river, probably at the Lower Chickasaw bluff (in Memphis, Tennessee, and extending ten miles down the east bank of the river), near the northwest corner of the present state of Mississippi, at the distance of about four hundred miles north of the gulf, but twice as far by the meandering watercourse. Armed Indians in two hundred canoes, coming from up the river, saluted the Spaniards, and the chief said to De Soto "that he had come to visit, serve, and obey him; for he had heard that he was the

*An English translation of this Relation of "A Gentleman of Elvas" made by Richard Hakluyt, was published in 1611, and was reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1851. Another translation, by Buckingham Smith, from which ensuing quotations are taken, was published in New York by the Bradford Club in 1866.

greatest of lords, the most powerful on all the earth." The Indians were doubtless treacherous; but here, as usual, the Spaniards were the first aggressors. When the canoes drew off from the shore, "the crossbow-men, who were in readiness," according to the Portuguese Relation, "with loud cries shot at the Indians, and struck down five or six of them."

Delay for thirty days was required in making four large boats to transfer the cavalry and foot soldiers across the river. Beginning one morning three hours before daybreak, by many trips to and fro, they all had crossed before the sun was two hours high, effecting this important movement without molestation by their vigilant Indian enemies. Wherever they marched, the poor native people were robbed, some of them were treacherously killed, and others, taken captive, were compelled to carry burdens, or otherwise to aid the invaders. The Relation says of this river, which it calls the Rio Grande: "The distance [to cross it] was near half a league: a man standing on the shore could not be told, whether he were a man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep; the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force."

Nearly another year was spent in marches, exploration, and campaigning against the Indians, west of the Mississippi river, and on April 17, 1542, De Soto came again to the Mississippi, at the Indian town of Guachoya, close below the mouth of the Arkansas river. There he sank into a deep despondency, worn out by the long series of disappointments and losses which had attended the whole course of his expedition; he became sick with malarial fever; and on May 21 he died, after appointing Luis de Moscoso as his successor in command. To conceal his death from the Indians, the body, wrapped in blankets and heavily weighted with sand, was sunk in the middle part of the Mississippi. The new governor and leader, Moscoso, then told the chief of the Guachoya Indians that De Soto "had ascended into the skies, as he had done on other many occasions; but as he would have to be detained there some time, he had left him in his stead."

Moscoso, after consulting the other officers, decided to march southwestward, hoping to reach Mexico; and half a year

was lost in going far southwest, repenting, and returning to the Mississippi at an Indian settlement called Aminoya, where the Spaniards found a large quantity of maize, indispensable for their sustenance. This place was a short distance above Guachoya, and apparently above the mouths of the Arkansas and White rivers, on the same west side of the great river. Seven brigantines were there built, on which, July 2, 1543, the Spaniards, reduced to the number of three hundred and twenty-two, launched to go down the Mississippi, taking with them about a hundred Indian slaves to be sold if they should reach Spanish settlements. Two weeks were occupied in descending the river, by rowing and the aid of the strong current, covering a distance which was estimated as about 250 Portuguese or Spanish leagues, that is, about 1,000 English statute miles. (From the mouth of the Arkansas to the Bayou Manchac, by the course of the Mississippi, is a distance of 446 miles, and to the present mouths of the delta, 672 miles.) The debouchure of the Mississippi was described as follows:

> When near the sea, it becomes divided into two arms, each of which may be a league and a half broad. . . . Half a league before coming to the sea, the Christians cast anchor, in order to take rest for a time, as they were weary from rowing. . . . [Here Indians came, in several canoes, for an attack.] . . . There also came some by land, through thicket and bog, with staves, having very sharp heads of fish-bone, who fought valiantly those of us who went out to meet them. . . . After remaining two days, the Christians went to where that branch of the river enters the sea; and having sounded there, they found forty fathoms depth of water. Pausing then, the Governor required that each should give his opinion respecting the voyage, whether they should sail to New Spain direct, by the high sea, or go thither keeping along from shore to shore. . . . It was decided to go along from one to another shore. . . .
>
> On the eighteenth day of July the vessels got under weigh, with fair weather, and wind favorable for the voyage. . . . With a favorable wind they sailed all that day in fresh water, the next night, and the day following until vespers, at which they were greatly amazed; for they were very distant from the shore, and so great was the strength of the current of the river, the coast so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entered far into the sea.

Luis Hernandez de Biedma, a factor or agent for the king, Charles V, was a member of De Soto's expedition, of which, after returning to Spain, he submitted a report in 1544. From

the translation of that report, given by Buckingham Smith in the same volume with this narrative of "the Gentleman of Elvas," we have the following considerably different description of what was thought to be the junction of the Mississippi with the gulf.

> We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us we were at sea, although we found the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk, like that of the river. Some small islets were seen westward, to which we went: thenceforward we kept close along the coast, where we took shell-fish, and looked for other things to eat, until we entered the River of Panuco, where we came and were well received by the Christians.

By comparing Biedma's report with the Portuguese Relation, I am convinced that the brigantines did not pass down the Mississippi to its delta, but went out to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Bayou Manchac, lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne, and the Mississippi sound. In other words, Moscoso, with his squadron, took the same passage that Pineda had taken, in 1519, for his entering the Mississippi. Several points in the two narrations need now to be explained in detail, as to their harmony with this conclusion.

First, the Indians had villages near the Bayou Manchac; but probably there were no inhabitants near the true mouth of the river, at the end of the delta. Second, under this view, we must regard the Portuguese statement of a division of the river, into two arms or branches, as referring to the large outflow, at a time of flood, to the Atchafalaya river. Instead of receiving an inflow at the junction of the Red river, the flooded Mississippi there sent out a portion of its current, by the mouth of the Red river, to the Atchafalaya; which also, when the Red river is at a higher stage than the Mississippi, takes a part of the current of the former, carrying it south by a much shorter course to the gulf. Third, another statement of that Relation, noting the great depth of forty fathoms where their branch of the river "enters the sea," must be then interpreted as found in the bend of the Mississippi from which the Bayou Manchac flows away.

In its condition of a high flood, the river there opens toward

a vast expanse of water, called, by the narrator, "the sea," reaching east over lake Maurepas and onward to the gulf. It seems indeed not unlikely that the Mississippi at that place may have then had even so great depth; for in a sharp curve at New Orleans it was once found by the Mississippi River Commission to have a sounding of 208 feet. On the large scale maps recently published by this commission, the maximum depth of the river close to the departure of the Bayou Manchac is noted as 145 feet; and in the sharp bend in the east part of New Orleans, 188 feet.

Sailing on the wide lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne, with the very low lands inclosing the latter probably then submerged, Moscoso and his men would regard all that expanse of fresh water, reaching from the Bayou Manchac nearly a hundred miles east to the Mississippi sound, as "a very large bay" of the sea. They would consequently be surprised at the very long distance to which the Mississippi sent its waters without their becoming salt; whereas even the greatest floods could not freshen the sea very far out from the mouths of the delta. The Portuguese Relation says that the Mississippi, before the departure from Aminoya, had risen, in such a high flood, to the ground at the town, where the brigantines were built, floating them; and we may infer, with good assurance, that the same flood continued, at nearly its full height, through the next two weeks, till July 16, when they came to the Bayou Manchac and the vast fresh water expanse stretching thence far to the east.

Fifty-two days were spent in the slow coasting, with frequent landings, and long delays for storms and to provide shellfish for food, between the Mississippi and the Panuco river, which was entered September 10, 1543; and there the Spanish town of Panuco welcomed the surviving three hundred and eleven of De Soto's men.

Looking back over the history of this expedition and its results, we see that little was gained for geographic knowledge, and nothing for the honor of the mother country or extension of her colonies. With the clearer light which now enables all civilized nations to recognize the great truth of the brotherhood of all mankind, we are pained to read, throughout this narrative, the wanton cruelties, murderous warfare, stealing, and shame-

less perfidy, with which the Indians were treated by De Soto and his men, from the beginning to the end of their expedition. These men were the finished product of medieval chivalry; they had mostly an inordinate self-esteem; and they called themselves Christians, and De Soto died with Christian serenity, in penitence and faith; but in their conduct toward the savages every Christian or humane sentiment was sacrificed to the love of gold and self-advancement. The first white men to voyage far on the Mississippi, and to deal largely with its native peoples, deemed them outside the pale of human sympathy or mercy.

No geographer, nor expert draftsman for mapping, appears to have been enlisted by De Soto in his grand company of followers. But soon after the expedition was disbanded in Mexico, testimony of those who came back to Europe was taken by some unknown compiler as the basis for a revised map of the "Gulf and Coast of New Spain." This map, preserved at Madrid in the Archives of the Indies, was lately ascribed to the year 1521 in the exhibition sent by Spain to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It is reproduced by Harrisse in his great work, The Discovery of North America, and is proved by him to belong to the end of 1543 or some later date. It shows the Atlantic and Gulf coast, from Georgia to the Panuco river, and extends inland so far as the country was known, however vaguely, from the explorations of De Soto and Moscoso. The ultimate sources of the Mississippi river, called by Biedma and on this map the Espiritu Santo, are placed on the northwestern flank of the Appalachian mountain belt, due north of Tampa bay. Thence two streams, meant for the Tennessee and Cumberland (or perhaps Ohio) rivers, of which De Soto had accounts from the Indians, flow west and unite to form the Espiritu Santo, near whose west bank, close below the confluence of a large tributary from the northwest, is Guachoya, the deathplace of De Soto. Many other names are also noted, mostly of towns or districts of Indian tribes, derived from his expedition. No indication of the Ohio (probably) nor the Missouri, nor of the Red river as a tributary of the Mississippi, is given by this map. Its northern boundary, beyond which it has only blank space, is at the supposed Cumberland river, and at mountains adjoining the sources of the northwestern tributary, that is, the Arkansas river. The Misisssippi

empties into the Vaya (Bay) del Espiritu Santo, which is also called Mar Pequeña (Little Sea), taking the place of the lakes north of New Orleans, and thus confirming my conclusions as to Moscoso's passage into the gulf. Excepting the long tributaries from the northeast, no greater prominence is given to the Mississippi than to several others of the many rivers pouring into the Atlantic and the Gulf along all this coast.

Here cartography rested during a hundred and thirty years. The next contribution from exploration of the Mississippi was by Marquette's map in 1673.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, 1655-60.

Maps and globes made during the period between De Soto and Champlain portray the interior of North America, comprising the region of Minnesota, as drained entirely by the upper part of the St. Lawrence, which is shown as a very long river, with no suggestion of its great lakes. Jean Nicolet, in 1634-35, extended his explorations, as the forerunner of the fur trade and the Jesuit missions, to the falls of St. Mary, at the mouth of lake Superior, and to the Fox river, above Green bay. At the western limit of his travel in Wisconsin he learned of a great water, beyond the Fox river, which he supposed to be an ocean. It was the Mississippi (Great River). But this Algonquian name, from which came Nicolet's mistake, was first recorded by the Relations of the Jesuits for 1666-67 and 1670-71, many years after they had possessed some vague knowledge of the stream. The Relation of the latter date gives the following description of it, gathered from the Indians.

> It seems to form an inclosure, as it were, for all our lakes, rising in the regions of the North and flowing toward the south, until it empties into the sea—supposed by us to be either the vermilion or the Florida Sea [that is, the Gulf of California or the Gulf of Mexico], as there is no knowledge of any large rivers in that direction except those which empty into these two Seas. Some Savages have assured us that this is so noble a river that, at more than three hundred leagues' distance from its mouth, it is larger than the one flowing before Quebec, for they declare that it is more than a league wide [referring probably to its enlargement in lake Pepin].

Previously, through more than a hundred years, the rude maps that resulted from De Soto's expedition had been accepted

as evidence that the area draining to the Gulf of Mexico had no great northward extent. Groseilliers and Radisson, on their return to Lower Canada in 1656, knew of the great river running southward beyond the lakes of the St. Lawrence; but they refrained from communicating their knowledge to those more able to comprehend its grand significance, as the first discovery of a mighty river system flowing to the south in the interior of the continent.

JOLIET AND MARQUETTE, 1673.

Between the part of the Mississippi navigated by the Spaniards in 1543, southward from the Arkansas river, and the part first seen by our two Frenchmen in the spring of 1655, a section extending through nine degrees of latitude remained to be first surveyed by white men in the summer of 1673, when the canoes of Louis Joliet, a young, but skilled explorer, delegated by Frontenac to this enterprise, and the Christian hero, Father Jacques Marquette, passed down the great river from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, and returned, partly by the same route, and along the Illinois river, to lake Michigan. The most southern Indian villages reached by Joliet and Marquette were Mitchigamea, on the west side of the Mississippi, not far above the White and Arkansas rivers, and Akansea, on the east side, nearly opposite to these large tributaries. As remarked by B. F. French, the former village was perhaps on the site of Aminoya, whence Moscoso descended the Mississippi; and the latter near Guachoya, where De Soto died, but on the opposite shore of the river. With Marquette's exceedingly interesting narrative of this voyage, we have his map, a pen sketch, giving the course of the Mississippi so far as it was seen by him, and marking its chief affluents, the Des Moines, Missouri, and Arkansas, on the west, and the Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio, on the east.

The voyagers turned back at Akansea, through fear of Spaniards or the Indian tribes beyond. They had gone far enough to prove the Mississippi a tributary of the Gulf of Mexico; to discover its vast prairies as a most fertile country, abounding with buffalo herds; and to learn of many aboriginal tribes, among whom these pioneers went as friends, opening the way for founding trading posts and Christian missions. Through their

narratives and maps, it soon became known to their countrymen that the Mississippi basin was an unclaimed empire, well worthy of every effort to secure it for France.

HENNEPIN AND DU LUTH, 1680.

The whole country of the Mississippi, from the Gulf to the Thousand Lakes forming its sources, was christened Louisiana, for the French monarch, and claimed for his sovereignty, by Robert Cavelier, commonly known, under a title referring to his land estate, as the Sieur de la Salle, who, on the great southern prairies, commanded a small company of zealous explorers; and by Daniel Greyselon Du Luth, who ranged through the great northern woods, with a few Frenchmen and Indian helpers to perform the labor of canoeing and camping.

Under instructions from La Salle, at his Fort Crèvecoeur on the Illinois river, a canoe exploration of the Mississippi upward from that river was undertaken in the early spring of 1680 by a little party of three Frenchmen, including the Franciscan priest, Father Louis Hennepin. On their way, probably near the Iowa river, they were met and taken into captivity by a war party of a hundred and twenty Sioux, in thirty-three birch canoes. Returning to their homes, the Sioux took their prisoners up the Mississippi to the site of St. Paul, and thence overland to the vicinity of Mille Lacs. After nearly two months of captivity there, the Frenchmen, with a very large expedition of these Indians for hunting buffaloes, came by the usual canoe route down the Rum river and the Mississippi; and on one of the early days of July these Frenchmen gazed with admiration on the Falls of St. Anthony, which were so named by Hennepin for his patron saint. About three weeks were spent in the buffalo hunting, and on the return up the Mississippi, probably near the site of La Crosse, Hennepin and the Sioux were met by Du Luth, who, with an Indian interpreter and four French soldiers, in two canoes, had come from lake Superior by the Bois Brulé and St. Croix rivers.

Du Luth had visited the Sioux in the Mille Lacs country during the preceding year, very probably coming by the way of the St. Louis and Savannah rivers to Sandy lake and the Mis-

sissippi, with descent of this river to the Crow Wing. He now boldly reprimanded the Indians for their treatment of Hennepin and his two French comrades, which produced a marked change in the demeanor of the savages. They all returned together to the Mille Lacs villages, where Du Luth, in an Indian council, further exerted his influence as a French fur trader to require due respect for any French visitors coming to the Sioux country. In the autumn, Du Luth and Hennepin, with the other Frenchmen, left the Sioux, from whose chief they received a rudely traced map for four hundred leagues of their canoe route down the Mississippi, up the Wisconsin, and down the Fox river, to Green bay and Mackinac.

By these travels the upper part of the Mississippi, then called the River Colbert, became known to the French of Canada. Three years later, Hennepin's publication, in Paris, of his "Description of Louisiana, Newly Discovered Southwest of New France," spread the knowledge of the discovery of the upper Mississippi through all Europe. His map in that book delineates the course of this river from its source to the Illinois and a little farther south, noting the Rum river, the St. Croix, Chippewa, Black, Wisconsin, and Illinois rivers, as its eastern tributaries, but having no indication of the Ohio; and on the west its only tributary noted is the Minnesota. From the south limit of Hennepin's observation of the Mississippi a lightly dotted line, marking its probable southward course, runs to the middle of the north side of the Gulf of Mexico. The Spanish maps of rivers seen by De Soto were not utilized to fill in the country at the south, across which the name of this new region, La Louisiane, is printed.

The laconic announcement of Du Luth's death, given in a letter of May 1, 1710, reads: "Captain Du Lud died this winter; he was a very honest man." Such commendation has been denied by many historians to Hennepin, because of falsehoods under his name in a later book published at Utrecht in 1697, which passed into many editions and translations. After reading his early work, and comparing it with this later work, which may have been edited by some one else without revision by Hennepin, I am inclined to agree with the conscientious historian, Dr. John G. Shea, and with Archbishop Ireland, in their argu-

ments showing that Hennepin, though not free from the somewhat excusable fault of vanity, was probably truthful in all his writings, not authorizing the false claim of a voyage down the Mississippi to its mouth, which the later publication asserted to have been made by him. It is to be much regretted, however, if Hennepin was innocent of complicity in these false statements, that we have no record of his denial and remonstrances against them. He died at some undetermined date, in 1701 or later.

LA SALLE, 1682.

The proudest hour in the life of La Salle, among all his great efforts for the glory of France and extension of her dominion, was when, on the ninth day of April, 1682, at the mouth of the Mississippi, or River Colbert, he erected a wooden column and a cross, affixing upon the column the arms of France, with an inscription, "Louis the Great, King of France and of Navarre, Reigns." The Te Deum and other hymns of thanksgiving and of loyalty were sung, and La Salle proclaimed, in a loud voice, that he took possession of the vast geographic basin drained by the Mississippi for the king of France, while his lieutenant, Tonty, Father Membré, and twenty other Frenchmen shouted, "Vive le Roi." La Salle called the new realm Louisiane. The greater part of it, lying west of the Mississippi, was purchased from Napoleon by the United States in 1803, under the name Louisiana, including the western two-thirds of the area of Minnesota.

La Salle did not know very definitely of the previous explorations by Pineda, Narvaez, and De Soto and Moscoso; and he deliberately ignored them, so far as they might confer upon Spain any rights of territorial ownership. He thought that the great river discovered by De Soto might lie east of the one which he had followed to the sea. The claim for France in his edict at the mouth of the Mississippi extended east to "the great river St. Louis," as he renamed the upper Ohio and Allegheny rivers, supposed rightly to be continuous with the river of De Soto's grand discovery and death; and it reached west on the gulf to the River of Palms, between the Rio Grande and the Panuco. It was limited on each side by the actual Spanish settlements in Florida and in Mexico. Long afterward, the Louis-

iana Purchase embraced the present state of Texas, and the subsequent acquisition of that area by the United States in 1845 was a re-annexation.

Leaving the Illinois river February 13th, La Salle and his company of about fifty French and Indians proceeded slowly down the Mississippi, hunting and fishing almost every day to supply themselves food, and visiting with the numerous Indian tribes. April 6th they arrived at the head of the passes, or branches of the river, in the delta, where the mighty stream divided into three channels, each of which was examined and reported to be suitable for navigation, wide and deep. The length of the western channel was noted as about three leagues. Accounts of this expedition were written by La Salle, Tonty, and Membré, and in recent times much biographic information concerning La Salle has been published by Sparks, Parkman, and Margry; but no map of the Mississippi drafted at that time has come down to us. In following all the winding course of the river, it would indeed have been a very difficult task to map it with general accuracy. It was thought to trend westward so that its mouths would not coincide with the River Espiritu Santo of the Spanish coastal charts, but rather with some other of the several rivers entering the gulf farther west.

A detailed map of the river's mouths in 1682, then probably for the first time leisurely examined by white men, would be of great interest to geologists, for a study of the subsequent growth of the delta. We must be content, however, with the few meager statements already given. Better information was gathered seventeen years later. Iberville and Bienville, brothers destined to become illustrious by founding the French colony of Louisiana, entered the eastern mouth of the delta with rowing boats, March 2, 1699; and in September of the same year a small English frigate entered one of the mouths and ascended the river to the English Turn, a great bend ten miles below the site of New Orleans. These are the earliest historic records of entries at the river's mouths.

The chart of the delta drafted by these early English adventurers was used by Daniel Coxe in a map published in 1722, in his "Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane."

This is the earliest map showing the mouths of the Mississippi with considerable detail, the date of its information being 1699. It represents the eastern passes and the south pass as much shorter than the southwest pass, which last was described by La Salle as having a length of about three French leagues (8.28 statute miles). Coxe wrote: "The Three great Branches always Navigable by Shipping. are situated about 6 Miles distant from each other, and unite all at one Place with the main River, about 12 Miles from their Mouths."

Another detailed map of this delta, far more elaborate, by Bellin, the distinguished French engineer, was published in 1744, in Charlevoix's great work, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France." Between the dates represented by these maps, the south pass had been much extended, while the others showed little change.

After these early dates, until 1885, when the admirable maps of the lower part of this river from surveys of the Mississippi River Commission were issued, each of the passes was extended six to eight miles into the gulf, and the eastern passes became more complex, with broad adjacent mud flats. Humphreys and Abbot, in 1861, determined the average yearly advance of all the passes to be 262 feet, which would amount to about five miles in a hundred years; and they estimated that a period of about 4,400 years has been occupied by the extension of the delta from the vicinity of Plaquemine and the Bayou Manchac outward into the gulf. When the delta was seen by Vespucci, four centuries ago, it probably terminated ten to fifteen miles back from the present head of the passes, where an old branching delta front is shown by the map of the Mississippi River Commission, in the continuation of the curving line of the Chandeleur islands and Breton island.

LE SUEUR, 1683-1700.

It remains for us to consider only one other of the ancient French explorers of the Mississippi, who also was the first explorer known to history on the Minnesota river. Pierre Charles Le Sueur, born in Canada in 1657, came to the Mississippi by the way of the Wisconsin river in 1683. The remaining years of the century, excepting expeditions for the sale of furs in Montreal

and absence in voyages to France, he spent principally in the country of the Sioux. He was at Fort St. Antoine, on the east shore of lake Pepin, with Perrot, in 1689. At some time within a few years preceding or following that date, he made a canoe trip far up the Mississippi, this being the first recorded exploration of the river through the central part of our state. Le Sueur related (Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 171, 172) that he ascended the river more than a hundred leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony, which statement, according to Brower, places the northern limit of his exploration in the vicinity of Sandy lake.

Very probably Charleville, whose narration of a similar early expedition of a hundred leagues on this part of the Mississippi is preserved by Du Pratz, was a companion of Le Sueur, so that the two accounts refer to the same canoe trip. Charleville said that he was accompanied by two Canadian Frenchmen and two Indians; and it is remarkable that Charleville, like Le Sueur, was a relative of the brothers Iberville and Bienville, who afterward were governors of Louisiana. At the limit of the canoe voyage up the Mississippi, in the case of both Le Sueur and Charleville, according to their separate narrations, the Indians informed them that its sources were still far distant, consisting of many streams.

Thus the discovery of the Mississippi by white men, at successive times during two centuries, from its mouths to Sandy lake, was completed. More than a hundred years later, in 1804 to 1832, its upper waters and principal source were explored by Morrison, Pike, Cass, Beltrami, and Schoolcraft. It was from first to last a grand task, and it was chiefly accomplished by the French, opening to civilization the most fertile regions of our continent. Of these brave men and their achievement, John Fiske well wrote: "The exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, with the determination of their relations to each other, was the most important inland work that was done in the course of American discovery."

Le Sueur sailed from Montreal to France in 1696, taking samples of a blue or green earth which he had found on the Blue Earth river. It was assayed by L'Huillier, an officer of the king; and, with the belief that it was a valuable copper ore, Le Sueur was commissioned to open mines in the region which is now Minnesota. But disasters and obstacles deterred him from this

project until the year 1700, when, having come from a second visit in France, with thirty miners, to Biloxi, near the mouth of the Mississippi, he ascended this river with his mining party in a sailing and rowing vessel and two canoes, going onward up the Minnesota river to the Blue Earth. This was the earliest continuous expedition along nearly the whole navigable length of the Mississippi; and very interesting accounts of it, and of the mining and dealings with the Sioux, were written by Penicaut, a carpenter in the party, and by La Harpe, the latter receiving the narrative directly from Le Sueur's journal. It was a splendid, but fruitless enterprise, for the remarkable colored earth, of which a great amount was mined, and the best of it carried to France, was worthless as a source of copper or any metallic product.

The route of Le Sueur's upward voyage, and of his return to Biloxi in 1701, was doubtless through lakes Borgne, Pontchartrain, and Maurepas, the Amite river, and the Bayou Manchac, which flows out from the Mississippi six miles above (east of) Plaquemine. Pineda and Moscoso had taken the same route, as before shown, so that the resulting maps, accepted as true during more than a hundred and fifty years, represent this as the chief debouchure of the Mississippi. Their error was learned in 1682, when La Salle went to the river's mouths in the delta. The Bayou Manchac was also called, by the early French in Louisiana, the Akankia (or Ascantia) and the River d'Iberville. This convenient route of navigation to and from the Mississipi was much used until New Orleans was founded, in 1718. It was a part of the eastern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803, which thus included, east of the Mississippi, "the island of New Orleans," a hundred and fifty miles long, with a maximum width, south from Misissippi sound, of fifty miles.

The question of Dr. Walter B. Scaife, whether the Rio del Espiritu Santo of the Spanish geographers was the Mississippi,* receives a definite and affirmative answer from this review of the general early use of the route by the Bayou Manchac, which caused the debouchure of the Mississippi to be quite erroneously

*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Volume XIII, 1892, entitled "America, its Geographical History, 1492-1892," Supplement, pp. 139-176. Other authors who have followed Dr. Scaife in doubting the identification of the Rio del Espiritu Santo as the Mississippi, considering it instead to be probably the Mobile river and bay, are Peter J. Hamilton, "Colonial Mobile," 1897, pp. 9-13; Frederic A. Ogg, "The Opening of the Mississippi," 1904, pp. 8-21; and Prof. Alcee Fortier, "A History of Louisiana," 1904, vol. i, p. 4. The two last named belong to the interval between the writing of this paper and its printing (in October, 1904).

mapped until the time of La Salle's expedition to its true mouths. A year after Scaife, but independently, the same question was also raised by Brower and Hill in their very valuable work on the history of the Mississippi river, presented in Volume VII of this Society's Historical Collections; but the present study leaves to me no doubt that the lower Mississippi was seen successively by Vespucci, Pineda, Narvaez, and De Soto. It was reserved for French explorers, Groseilliers and Radisson, in 1655, and Joliet and Marquette, in 1673, to be the first Europeans on the upper Mississippi, more than a century after the disastrous early Spanish expeditions.

History of Prairie Island.

The first locality in Minnesota inhabited by white men, Prairie island, also called by former writers Bald island, in translation of its old French name, Isle Pelée, deserves further notice, for it was the site of an important early trading post. Forty years after Groseilliers and Radisson came there, Le Sueur established a fort, that is, a trading post, on this island, in 1695, of which Bénard de la Harpe, in the introduction of his narrative of Le Sueur's mining expedition in 1700, wrote as follows, according to Shea's translation (Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, 1861, p. 90):

. . . . What gave rise to this enterprise as far back as the year 1695, was this. Mr. Le Sueur by order of the Count de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, built a fort on an island in the Mississippi, more than 200 leagues above the Illinois, in order to effect a peace between the Sauteurs nations [Ojibways], who dwelt on the shores of a lake of five hundred leagues circumference, one hundred leagues east of the river, and the Scioux, posted on the Upper Mississippi. The same year, according to his orders, he went down to Montreal in Canada with a Sauteur chief named Chingouabé and a Sciou named Cioscate [Tioscate, p. 107], who was the first of his nation who had seen Canada. . .

Penicaut, in his relation of Le Sueur's expedition, which he accompanied, wrote of Prairie island, as translated by Alfred J. Hill in Volume III of this Society's Historical Collections:

At the end of the lake [Pepin] you come to Bald Island, so called because there are no trees on it. It is on this island that the French from Canada established their fort and storehouse when they come to trade for furs and other merchandise, and they also winter here because game is very

abundant in the prairies on both shores of the river. In the month of September they bring their store of meat there, procured by hunting, and after having skinned and cleaned it, place it upon a sort of raised scaffold near the cabin, in order that the extreme cold which lasts from the month of September to the end of March, may hinder it from corrupting during the winter, which is very severe in that country. During the whole winter they do not go out except for water, when they have to break the ice every day, and the cabin is generally built on the bank, so as not to have to go far. When spring arrives the savages come to the island, bringing their merchandise, which consists of all kinds of furs, as beaver, otter, marten, lynx, and many others—the bear skins are generally used to cover the canoes of the savages and Canadians. There are often savages who pillage the French Canadian traders, among others the savages of a village composed of the five different nations, and which have each their own name, that is, the Sioux, the people of the big village, the Mententons, the Mencouacantons, the Ouyatespony, and other Sioux of the plains. Three leagues higher up, after leaving this island, you meet on the right the river St. Croix. . . . .

In a careful examination of this large island, during the spring of this year 1902, Hon. J. V. Brower, while mapping about two hundred and fifty aboriginal mounds there, found only very scanty indications, in a single place, about a half mile south from Sturgeon lake, on the high bank west of its outlet, of any ancient dwelling or inclosure, constructed by Europeans, such as Le Sueur's fort. It probably was merely a rude log cabin, inclosed by a palisade, both soon decaying and leaving scarcely any traces recognizable after two centuries. Yet its thus leaving almost no sign seems not inconsistent with the statements of Penicaut, which imply that during several years, before and after Le Sueur's commission in 1695, Prairie island was an important station of French traders.

From Charlevoix, in the third volume of his History of New France, published in 1744, I translate the following brief description of this island:

> On going above the lake [Pepin], one comes to Isle Pelée, so named because it has not a single tree, but is a very beautiful prairie. The French of Canada have often made it the center of their trade in these western districts, and many have also wintered there, because all this country is excellent for hunting.

Apparently this note was simply condensed from Penicaut, and I cannot refer to any evidence of the occupation of the island

by white traders after the year 1700. It has perhaps been continuously occupied by the Sioux since that date; for numerous families of these people still live there, on land which they cultivate, allotted to them by the United States government, about a mile west of the supposed site of Le Sueur's post. All the other very extensive cultivatable land of the island is owned by white immigrants.

Services of Groseilliers and Radisson for the Hudson Bay Company.

In the short biographic sketches of these brothers-in-law, given at the beginning of this paper, their services for England, again for France, and later in a second desertion from their own country to England, were noticed, all belonging to the period after their western expeditions to Minnesota. Not comprehending their discovery of the Mississippi river, and esteeming the peltries of the north to be far more promising for acquisition of wealth than any traffic, colonization, and development of the fertile western and southern country beyond the great lakes, Groseilliers and Radisson in their long persevering ambition looked earnestly to the vast inland sea or bay of Hudson, to be acquired for its fur trade, as they at first hoped, by France; but as they later plotted, when smarting under the injustice of the governor of Canada and the court of France, it was the motive of Radisson's writings to attain lucrative and commanding positions in the service of English patrons, establishing them in the commerce of that northern region. It was largely through the efforts of these two French adventurers, alternating in their allegiance between the great rival powers of France and England, that the Hudson Bay Company was founded, in 1670, and grew in the next two decades to be an important ally of the English colonies and power on this continent.

Reviewing the conduct of these men in their relations to the two governments under which they were thus successively employed, we see good ground for excusing their first defection from France; but their wavering allegiance, three times changed, betokens a selfish and petulant spirit, rather than a noble loyalty to either their native or their adopted country. The

high-handed seizure by Radisson, in 1684, of the French post on Hayes river commanded by his nephew, though enriching the English, was the work of a despised traitor, and failed to win either a large pecuniary reward or the respect of the Hudson Bay Company. It brought the distinction of being considered by the king of France as a dangerous enemy.

Groseilliers is supposed to have died at his Canadian home, refusing the overtures for going back to a second residence and service with the English. Radisson, having married an Englishwoman, spent many years there in obscurity, until his death, as a pensioner of this great commercial company. They each possessed in a very full degree the qualities of sympathetic comradeship, coolness and courage in dangers, cheerful endurance of hardships, and fondness for adventure and life in the wilderness, which insured success for the French and Scotch voyageurs, where the different temperaments of English or German colonists would have made any attempt by them to act the same part as pioneer explorers and traders a dismal failure. They contributed to the founding of New France, which reached from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi to its mouth; but in all that domain which they and their compatriots discovered and won for the mother country, she now retains no possession.

To Whom belongs the Honor of Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River and Minnesota?

Not much of thanks or praise can be awarded to Groseilliers and Radisson for their being the earliest Europeans on the upper Mississippi river, and in the area of Minnesota; for they failed to discern the important geographic significance of the great river, and designedly concealed from their countrymen, so far as possible, all knowledge of their travels. If we may compare this inland region with the much grander discovery of the continent, the expeditions of these first pioneers seem somewhat like the unfruitful voyages of the old Northmen, reaching our northern shores but not understanding the value of their work, long before the purposeful first voyage of Columbus, which, though indeed with the belief that the islands found were merely outliers of Farther India, gave to civilization a new hemisphere.

With similar intelligence and patriotism came Joliet and Marquette, to whom, second on the upper Mississippi, in 1673, belongs rightly, as I believe, the highest honor of its discovery, because they made known what they found. Let the glory of praise and gratitude, which during more than two hundred years has been accorded to them, continue with undiminished luster in the minds of future generations. Likewise let the names of Du Luth and of Hennepin and his companions be held in lasting honor for their being the first of white men to make known their explorations in Minnesota.

But we should also commemorate the work, so long concealed from historians, by which Groseilliers and Radisson earlier reached this mighty river and first saw the fair country that nearly two centuries later became our territory and state. The first of white men within the area of this commonwealth, their landing at Prairie island in the spring of 1655, with a large company of Indians, who were met by others of their exiled tribesmen already establishing their homes on the island, is a subject well worthy of the painter's skill, and well deserving of a place among the mural decorations of our new state capitol. Beside it, also, we should have the picture of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, by which treaty, under Governor Ramsey and Luke Lea, our Territory acquired from the red men so great a part of its area for the white men's farms, towns, and cities, and for all that belongs to the progressing civilization of our Anglo-Saxon people,

"The heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time."

Chronologic Summary.

The following summary of the dates and events noted in the foregoing pages will be convenient for reference, and as a kind of index to the career of Groseilliers and Radisson in their relation to Minnesota and the Northwest.

1621.

Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, born in France.

1635.

Pierre Esprit Radisson born in France.

1641.

Groseilliers came to Canada (or perhaps a few years earlier).

1641-'46.

Groseilliers was a layman helper of Jesuit missionaries, and learned the Huron and Algonquian languages.

1647.

He married Helene Martin, who died in 1651.

1647-'53.

He was a fur trader, probably making yearly trips to the country of the Hurons.

1647-'50.

Radisson, probably as a sailor boy, visited London, Italy, and Turkey.

1651.

May 24, Radisson arrived in Canada.

1652.

He was captured by the Iroquois, and lived nearly a year with them on the Mohawk river.

1653.

He escaped to Fort Orange (Albany), sailed to Holland and France, and in the spring of 1654 returned to Three Rivers, Canada. Groseilliers married Marguerite Radisson, a sister of Pierre.

1654.

August 6, Groseilliers and Radisson started on their first western expedition (the third voyage in the series of Radisson's narration), with a party of Hurons and Ottawas. They spent the winter among the Indian tribes in the region of Mackinac and Green bay.

1655.

In the early spring, Groseilliers and Radisson, and about 150 Indians, traveling with snowshoes, crossed southern Wisconsin to the Mississippi river near the site of Prairie du Chien; spent three weeks in building boats; and ascended the Mississippi to Prairie island, arriving there about the first of May. Groseilliers staid on the island through the summer and autumn, superintending the Indians in raising and storing corn; but Radisson went with a hunting party of the Indians, journeying southeastward to the Illinois river, and spent four months in going "from river to river."

1656.

About the middle of June, a council of more than 800 Indians was held on Prairie island. With difficulty Groseilliers and Radisson persuaded them to undertake a large expedition to Montreal and Quebec, braving the expected attacks of the Iroquois. They left Prairie island late in June, or about the first of July, and reached Lower Canada late in August, bringing furs of great value.

1657.

From the summer of 1657 to the spring of 1658, Radisson was in an expedition to the Onondagas in central New York (placed as the second voyage in his narration).

1659.

In August, with a company of Ojibways and other Indians, Groseilliers and Radisson started on their second western expedition; spent twenty-two days in canoe travel, by the Ottawa and Mattawa rivers and lake Nipissing,

to Georgian bay; stopped a few days for rest at the Sault Ste. Marie; and coasted along the south shore of lake Superior to Chequamegon bay, arriving there probably near the end of September. They waited twelve days, and then marched four days southward through the woods to a lake about eight leagues in circuit, probably Lac Courte Oreille, where a council of the Hurons, Menominees, and other Indians, was held, with bestowal of gifts. After the first snowfall, late in October or early in November, the Indians separated to provide food by hunting.

1660.

Early in January, the Hurons, and Groseilliers and Radisson, came together at an appointed rendezvous, a small lake, probably Knife lake or some other in its vicinity, in Kanabec county, Minnesota. A terrible famine ensued, and was made more severe by the arrival of a large company of Ottawas. More than 500 Indians perished, and the two Frenchmen barely survived.

After the famine, twenty-four Sioux came to bring presents for Groseilliers and Radisson, and eight days were occupied with feasting. The Hurons, and delegations from eighteen tribes or bands of the Sioux, then met at a prairie or clearing chosen near the former rendezvous, apparently in the neighborhood of Knife lake. Ceremonial feasting, athletic trials of strength and skill, singing, dancing, and bestowal of gifts, occupied the next three weeks; and a large party of Crees, being specially invited, joined in the later part of this great celebration of alliance with the French. This took place in the second half of March and beginning of April.

During April and May, Groseilliers and Radisson visited the Prairie Sioux, probably on the Minnesota river, traveling thither probably afoot by way of the Rum river and down the Mississippi, but passing south to the Minnesota by way of the series of lakes in the west part of Minneapolis, and returning, with a company of Ojibway traders in canoes, by the Minnesota, Mississippi, and St. Croix rivers. They reached Chequamegon bay in the later part of May.

Soon after the first of June, they crossed the west end of lake Superior, apparently about 20 or 25 miles east of Duluth, visiting the Crees near the site of Two Harbors.

With a great escort, 300 or more of the Indians in sixty canoes, Groseilliers and Radisson arrived at Montreal on the 19th of August, having spent twenty-six days in coming down from lake Superior. They brought, as in 1656, a very valuable freight of furs. The governor of Canada, Argenson, reprimanded them for going on this expedition without his authority, and imposed very heavy fines, so that Groseilliers went to France to plead for redress, but in vain.

1663.

Groseilliers and Radisson sailed in a New England ship to Hudson strait, hoping to enter Hudson bay and establish trading posts; but the captain refused to go farther, on account of the approach of winter.

1665.

Groseilliers and Radisson went to England, and aided in forming the Hudson Bay Company, which was chartered in 1670. About that time,

Radisson married a daughter of John Kirke, who became a director of this company.

1674.

They returned to the service of France, in which they remained for the next ten years.

1684.

May 12, Radisson again entered the service of the Hudson Bay Company; but their offer was declined by Groseilliers, who probably died soon afterward in Canada. Radisson immediately voyaged to Hudson bay, and took possession of the chief French trading post, with a vast stock of furs, worth 7,000 pounds. During a few years afterward, till 1688, he continued in active service, voyaging to Hudson bay.

1710.

After receiving a small pension from the Hudson Bay Company during more than twenty years, Radisson probably died early in the year 1710, in England, as at that time the pension ceased.

Bibliography.

The following alphabetic list comprises 107 books and papers, which treat more or less fully of Groseilliers and Radisson, by 63 authors. For each author who expresses opinions concerning the routes and dates of their western expeditions, a brief statement of these opinions is presented. Twenty-one of the authors thus cited have made special studies of the narratives of Radisson, as published in the year 1885. The others wrote earlier, or, if later, appear not to have perused his writings. A few citations have been added since this paper was first written, to complete the list, so far as known to me, to the date of its printing, in October, 1904.

American Historical Review, Jan., 1896; see *Campbell.*

Archives; see *Canadian, France, New France, New York,* and *Quebec.*

Baker, Gen. James H. History of Transportation in Minnesota. (Minn. Historical Society Collections, vol. ix, 1901, pp. 1-34.) Groseilliers and Radisson are credited, in pages 3-4, with discovery of the upper Mississippi river in 1659, during their second expedition. They are thought to have crossed it "at an unknown and unascertainable point, probably between the mouth of Sauk river and the mouth of Rum river."

Begg, Alexander. History of the North-West. (3 vols., Toronto, 1894-95.) Vol. i, pp. 71-74; vol. iii, p. 479. Groseilliers and Radisson are said to have passed from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, lake Winnipeg, and Hudson bay, in 1662. See *Jeremie, Oldmixon,* and *Ellis.*

Bell, Andrew, translator; see *Garneau.*

BLAKELEY, CAPT. RUSSELL. History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota. (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. viii, pp. 303-418; read Oct. 12, 1896; published May, 1898.)

The first half of this paper, in pages 303-362, reviews the two western expeditions of these Frenchmen, referring them to the years 1654-56 and 1658-60. They are credited with an exploration of the upper Mississippi during the first of the expeditions, and with an overland journey to Hudson bay during the second expedition. Captain Blakeley was the earliest writer to give careful attention to the location of "the first landing isle," which he thought to be in lake Saganaga. Extensive quotations from Radisson's narratives are presented, and these are compared with other writers, Spanish, French, and English, on early explorations of the upper Mississippi and of the country farther southwest, on the Ojibways and Crees, the fur trade, and Hudson bay.

BLANCHET, HON. J.; see *New France, Collection de Documents.*

BRADLEY, A. G. Chronicles of the Hudson's Bay Company. (Macmillan's Magazine, vol. lxxxiii, pp. 231-240, Jan., 1901.) Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 232-5, as "born intriguers, restless, intrepid, ...the practical founders of the Company." This article is based on the histories of Willson and Bryce. It makes no allusion to Radisson's pretence of an overland journey from lake Superior to Hudson bay.

BRODHEAD, JOHN ROMEYN; see *New York, Documents.*

BROWER, JACOB V. The Mississippi River and its Source: Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. vii, 1893. (Pages 360; with many maps, portraits, and other illustrations.)

In the parts of this work relating the early Spanish and French explorations, Mr. Brower had the assistance (as noted on page 290) of the late Alfred J. Hill, of St. Paul, Minn. Their discussion of the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson is in pages 47-58. It is thought, from evidences outside of Radisson's narratives, as the Jesuit Relations, that these two expeditions were in the years 1654-56 and 1658-60. During Radisson's long hunting excursion in the summer of 1655, he is supposed to have reached the Mississippi river, which is identified as "the great river that divides itself in 2." No attention is given to the important question of the situation of "the first landing isle."

The rendezvous on the land of the Sioux, in the second expedition, where starvation in midwinter was followed by the grand Indian council and feast, is conjecturally placed "between Kettle and Snake rivers in eastern Minnesota." The Tatarga or Tatanga of Radisson are considered to be the Titonwan or Prairie Sioux, in southern and western Minnesota, who were visited by these two Frenchmen after the feast. Their journey thither would cross the upper Mississippi, though it received no mention. See *Hill.*

BROWER, JACOB V. Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River. (Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society, vol. xi, pp.

1-80; with many portraits, maps, and illustrations from photographs. Manchester, England; 1895.)

The following quotation is from page 21: "M. Groseilliers and M. Radisson, two Frenchmen of energetic habits but apparently illiterate minds, about two hundred and thirty-four years ago, passing west from Lake Superior, came in contact with the Sioux or Dakotas. . . . it is quite certain that these two first Europeans reached and crossed the Mississippi some thirty or forty miles above the present site of the city of St. Paul. . . . There is little doubt but that the two Frenchmen named . . . were the first Europeans who came in contact with the Sioux tribes."

[This paper, in an abridged form, was also published in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. viii, part 2, pp. 232-269, issued Dec., 1896, the quotation here given being on page 242.]

BROWER, JACOB V. Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi. Volume iii, Mille Lac. (Pages 140; 1900.) Vol. iv, Kathio. (Pages 136; 1901.) Vol. v, Kakabikansing. (Pages 126; 1902.) Vol. vi, Minnesota, Discovery of its Area. (Pages 127, 1903.)

Each of these quarto volumes, presenting investigations in archaeology and history, published by the author in St. Paul, Minn., is superbly illustrated by many maps, portraits, and views. They all have numerous references to Groseilliers and Radisson.

Volume iv has, on page 83, a portrait of Radisson, "from *The Great Company,* by Beckles Willson, Toronto, 1899 . . . unauthenticated." See *Willson.*

Volume vi, published March 20, 1903, treats of Prairie and Gray Cloud islands and their vicinity, and especially of the time and place of the earliest coming of these white men to the area of Minnesota, with elaborate discussion of their first expedition. Contributions from Henry Colin Campbell, Benjamin Sulte, and Warren Upham, are presented; and afterward Mr. Brower, reviewing Radisson's narratives and these contributed papers, rejects the conclusion of Upham, that "the first landing isle" is Prairie island, formerly called Isle Pelée. This volume has been an incentive to present in the foregoing paper as full and clear evidences as possible for my view thus disputed, which, however, after weighing the opposing opinions, I still hold with unshaken confidence. See *Campbell, Sulte,* and *Upham.*

BRYCE, PROF. GEORGE. The Further History of Pierre Esprit Radisson. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. iv, Meeting of May, 1898, section ii, pp. 53-66; 1898.)

Radisson's claim that he visited Hudson bay by an overland route from lake Superior is fully discussed and rejected. From the archives of the Hudson Bay Company, examined by Dr. Bryce in London in 1896, he traces Radisson as living in England, a pensioner of that company, till 1710, about twenty-five years beyond what had been previously known. The western expeditions are referred to the years 1658-60 and 1661-63.

BRYCE, PROF. GEORGE. The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company. (Toronto, 1900.) Pages 3-11, and chapter V, "Two Adroit Ad-

venturers," pp. 33-46; adapted from the paper of the Royal Society of Canada, already cited, a most valuable contribution to the history of these promoters of the founding and early enterprises of this Company.

BRYMNER, DOUGLAS, Archivist; See *Canadian Archives.*

Concerning the assumed title of Groseilliers, Dr. Brymner wrote on page xxii of his Report for 1895: "The name of des Groseillers, taken from a small property, was Medard Chouart, but he is as little known by that name as Voltaire was known by his real name of Arouet, he being always spoken of by the name of des Groseillers, changed in one affidavit into 'Gooseberry,' the name literally translated into English being 'gooseberry bushes.'"

CAMPBELL, HENRY COLIN. Radisson's Journal: its Value in History. (Pages 88-116, in Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Forty-third Annual Meeting, held December 12, 1895. Madison, 1896.)

CAMPBELL, HENRY COLIN. Radisson and Groseilliers: Problems in Early Western History. (The American Historical Review, vol. i, pp. 226-237, Jan., 1896.)

CAMPBELL, HENRY COLIN. Exploration of Lake Superior: the Voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers. (Parkman Club Publications, No. 2, pp. 17-35, Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 14, 1896.)

These three very interesting and exceedingly important papers, prepared and isued almost at the same time, cover in a great degree the same ground of discussion concerning the reliability of Radisson's narratives published by the Prince Society. The earlier discussions and studies of the chronology and routes of his voyages or expeditions by former writers. during the eleven years which had then elapsed after that publication, are reviewed; and a useful though concise bibliography of the sources of the history of Groseilliers and Radisson is presented in the last two pages of the Parkman Club paper. The sagacious conclusions of Campbell have been always helpful, and have generally been adopted, in the present monograph, which, however, is more positive and definite in discarding Radisson's claims to have traveled to the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson bay.

In relation to our Minnesota part of the western expeditions, a great indebtedness to Campbell must be acknowledged, in that he was the first, among the many authors considering the routes of these French explorers, to suggest that Isle Pelée, for a few years inhabited by the Huron refugees, was "the first landing isle," so necessary to be identified for an understanding of the geography of that expedition. No other author has been so helpful and stimulating to me; and I think that no other has contributed so much to establish a true interpretation of Radisson.

Campbell's discussion of the situation of "the first landing isle," in pages 25-26 of the third of these papers, is as follows: "Late in the winter, Radisson says, he and Groseilliers and 150 Indians traveled fifty leagues on snow shoes, came to the mouth of a river where they stopped to make boats, ascended the river for eight days, visted the Pontonemick, probably

Pottawattamies, and the Matenock, and continued their journey until they reached what Radisson calls 'the first landing isle.' Does Radisson mean to state that they crossed the upper peninsula of Michigan, ascended the Fox river and made their way to Bald Island [Isle Pelée or Prairie Island], in the Mississippi river? That long journey, which included fifty leagues on snow shoes, was remarkable, and Radisson's description of it plainly shows that the objective point could not be any of the islands in Lake Michigan or in Lake Huron. At the 'first landing isle,' Radisson and Groseilliers found many Hurons, in fact, the object of the journey seems to have been to find the Hurons, with whom Groseilliers had traded before the Iroquois had forced them to abandon their homes east of Georgian Bay. Radisson has recorded that during his southern trip of the summer before, he had tried to get his Huron companions to go with him to their countrymen who had fled to the land of the Sioux, meaning the upper Mississippi River. But it is very doubtful whether the Hurons had reached the Lake Pepin country at the time that Radisson says that he tried to persuade his Huron companions to go there, and it is far from being certain that the Hurons had reached Lake Pepin even by the time that Radisson says that he and Groseilliers found them on an island—'the first landing isle.'"

It may be remarked, as to this discussion, that Radisson's narrative does not necessarily place the beginning of the long journey with snow shoes farther north than the neighborhood of Green bay, or even of lake Winnebago; that this journey ended at the side (not the mouth) of a river, where they made boats; that the two bands of Indians whom they found after canoeing eight days up the river are not named exactly as by Radisson, though very probably the first, as Campbell thinks, were Pottawattamies, while the second may have been Menominees; and that Perrot's Memoir, carefully considered in the foregoing pages, gives good warrant for the coming of the Huron and Ottawa refugees to Prairie island as early as 1654 or 1653, and for their stay on that island during probably four or five years. We can therefore very confidently accept Campbell's suggestion that "the first landing isle" was Perrot's Isle Pelée, being the first place of abode of white men in Minnesota. See *Perrot.*

Campbell, Henry Colin. Père René Ménard, the Predecessor of Allouez and Marquette in the Lake Superior Region. (Parkman Club Publications, No. 11, vol. ii, pp. 1-24. Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 10, 1897.) Pages 13-15 refer to the second western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson; their going southward from Chequamegon bay to the refugee Hurons at a lake "some eight leagues in circuit;" and the testimony of Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, who identifies this lake as probably Lac Courte Oreille, that the Indians had an old trail between it and Chequamegon, which trail, as Campbell shows, was undoubtedly the route traveled by these French traders and their Indian companions. See *Verwyst* and *McCormick.*

Campbell, Henry Colin. A short statement of doubt concerning the acceptability of Radisson's narrative of the first western expedition, and

especially of doubt that he then reached the Mississippi river, is contributed by Campbell to Brower's Volume vi of "Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi," 1903, pp. 69-71. See *Brower*.

CANADA, ROYAL SOCIETY OF; see *Bryce* and *Dionne*.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, REPORTS ON, by DOUGLAS BRYMNER, Archivist. (Ottawa, 1881-1901.)

Report for 1883, Note C, pages 173-201, "Transactions betweene England and France relateing to Hudsons Bay, 1687." Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed on pages 180, 181, 188, and 192, as guides of the first English voyages for fur trading on this bay.

Report for 1895, Note A, pages 1-83, "Relations of the Voyages of Pierre Esprit Radisson in 1682, 3 and 4." Two journals of Radisson, in his original French, are here published, with their English translations made by Dr. Brymner. These journals, as he states in page xxii of this report, were obtained in the Hudson's Bay House, London, from its Secretary, and are thought to be here published for the first time in their original language.

The first relates the voyages of 1682-3, when Radisson was employed by the French. An English translation of it, apparently made by Radisson, had been given in the Prince Society's volume.

The second, for the year 1684, when Radisson had again taken service with the Hudson Bay Company, is that of which a translation, probably by Gideon D. Scull, the editor, had been published in the same volume for the Prince Society.

Dr. Brymner comments briefly on these journals in pages xxii-xxiii.

See *France, Colonial Archives*.

CANADIAN FAMILIES, GENEALOGICAL DICTIONARY OF; see *Tanguay*.

CANADIAN MAGAZINE, Toronto, May and June, 1899; see *Willson*.

CAREY, HON. JOHN R. History of Duluth, and of St. Louis County, to the Year 1870. (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. ix, 1901, pp. 241-278.) Groseilliers and Radisson, at the beginning of this paper, "are said to have been the first white men to visit Minnesota."

CHARLEVOIX, PIERRE FRANCOIS XAVIER DE. Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France. (3 vols., Paris, 1744.) Vol. i, pp. 476-482, 498. Relating only to the voyages by sea to Hudson bay and events there, after the expeditions to Minnesota.

Translation of this work, by John Gilmary Shea. (6 vols., New York, 1866-72.) Vol. iii, pp. 230-237, 261.

COYNE, JAMES H., Translator and Editor. Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669-1670, by Dollier de Casson and De Bréhant de Galinée. (Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. iv; Toronto, 1903.) In the Introduction of this work, the editor refers (page xvii) to the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, which he supposes to have been three in number, in the years 1654-56, 1658-60, and 1660-63. In the second they are thought to have reached the Mississippi river.

DAVIDSON, REV. JOHN NELSON. Missions on Chequamegon Bay. (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. xii, 1892, pp. 434-452.) Pages 434-5 refer briefly to Groseilliers and Radisson, and the date of their coming to Chequamegon bay is assigned to the autumn of 1661.

DAVIDSON, REV. JOHN NELSON. In Unnamed Wisconsin. (Milwaukee, 1895.) Pages 2-8; 11, 12, 15, 16, 61, 176, 210, 277, 278. The first western expedition of these Frenchmen is referred to the years 1658-60, and the second to 1661-62.

DENONVILLE, MARQUIS DE, Governor of Canada; see *New York Documents*.

DIONNE, NARCISSE E. Chouart et Radisson. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. xi, for 1893, section i, pp. 115-135; and vol. xii, for 1894, sec. i, pp. 29-48.)

The first part of this memoir, published in volume xi, relates to the four land expeditions narrated by Radisson, of which the third and fourth, to the far west, noticed in pages 126-133, are the subject of the present paper. The second part, in volume xii, treats of Radisson's later narratives of voyages by sea to Hudson bay and the conflicts between the French and English in the establishment of the fur trade there.

The author ascribes the first western expedition of Groseilliers (here called Chouart) and Radisson to the years 1658-60. No attention is given to the statement that they traveled far to the south, nor is there any discussion of the place of "the first landing isle." On the supposition that the Jesuit Relation of 1660 describes this expedition, it is thought that it extended across the Mississippi to the Sioux of the prairie region.

After a year at home, the second expedition west, according to Dionne, was in 1661-63, including a trip to Hudson bay, as Radisson asserted, which is thought to have been by the way of the Lake of the Woods, lake Winnipeg, and the Nelson river. The routes of travel to the south and southwest from Chequamegon bay, bringing these traders into Minnesota, to the great council and feast with the Sioux and Crees, are not considered.

DUGAS L'ABBE G. L'Ouest Canadien: sa Decouverte par le Sieur de la Verendrye, son Exploitation par les Compagnies de Traiteurs jusqu' a l'Annee 1822. (Montreal, 1896. Pages 413.) The careers of Groseilliers and Radisson are the theme of pages 21-37, chief attention being given to their voyages by sea to Hudson bay. Their land expeditions to the Northwest are assigned to 1658-60 and 1661-64, with a journey overland to Hudson bay in 1663, agreeing thus with Prud 'homme.

ELLIS, HENRY. A Voyage to Hudson's-Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the Years 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a Northwest Passage. (London, 1748. Pages xxviii, 336.)

The part taken by Groseilliers and Radisson in the exploration of Hudson bay by sea voyages and in establishment of the fur trade there and founding of the Hudson Bay Company, is related in pages 71-77, partly as follows:

"Mr. Jeremie, who was Governor at Port-Nelson, while it was in the Hands of the French, and who, without doubt, had better Opportunities of knowing the Matters of which he writes, than most other People, gives us this Account of the Matter. He says, that one Mr. de Groiseleiz, an Inhabitant of Canada, a bold and enterprizing Man, and one who had travelled much in those Parts,pushed his Discoveries at length so far, that he reached the Coasts of Hudson's-Bay from the French Settlement by Land. Upon his Return, he prevailed upon some of his Countrymen at Quebeck, to fit out a Bark for perfecting this Discovery by Sea; which being done, and he landing upon the Coast," . . . . .

The narrative tells further that disagreement with the Quebec merchants caused "Mr. Rattisson" to be sent to France with an appeal for redress; that "Mr. de Groiseleiz" later went also to France, but that both failed of their purpose to secure patronage of their plan for fur trading in the Hudson bay region; and that then they entered into service for the English.

"A Letter from Mr. Oldenburgh, the first Secretary to the Royal Society," is quoted in part as follows, concerning the alleged journey of Groseilliers and Radisson from lake Superior to Hudson bay: "these Men affirming, as I heard, that with a Boat they went out of a Lake in Canada into a River, which discharged itself North West into the South-Sea, into which they went and returned North East into Hudson's-Bay."

Thus the plausible pretensions of Radisson, partly as written in his narratives and partly as orally communicated to the King at Oxford, led a prominent officer of the highest scientific society in England to believe not only that these French adventurers went overland to Hudson bay, but even that they had crossed from lake Superior to the Pacific ocean, and thence had come back northeastward to Hudson bay. Assurance was gained, that these great bodies of water extended into proximity to each other; and a hope was raised, that between them might be found the greatly desired "Northwest Passage."

See *Jeremie* and *Oldmixon.*

Flandrau, Judge Charles E. The History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier. (St. Paul, 1900. Pages 408.) Groseilliers and Radisson are very briefly mentioned on page 3.

Folsom, W. H. C. Fifty Years in the Northwest. (St. Paul, 1888. Pages, 763.) In the expedition of these Frenchmen to lake Superior, which is referred to the year 1659, it is thought that they visited "the site of Duluth" (p. 488).

France, Colonial Archives of.

Only small parts selected from the vast mass of the Colonial Archives of France have been published. These records, largely relating to the colonies of Canada and Louisiana, are of inestimable value for our early American history, but can contribute probably nothing on the period of this paper. Reports on their examination, so far as they concern Canada and the United States, have been published as follows:

Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie, et à la Cartographie, de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents, 1545-1700. Par l'Auteur de la Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima [HENRY HARRISSE]. *Paris*, 1872. (Pages xxxiii, 367; including a good index.)

Report on French Archives, by JOSEPH MARMETTE; included as a part of Dr. Douglas Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives for 1885, in pages xxii-lxxix.

Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives. By Mr. EDOUARD RICHARD. [For] 1899. Ottawa, 1901. (548 pages.)

Harrisse stated (on page v) that the early archives belonging to the period of greatest interest in the present work, such as might contain references to the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, have been destroyed or cannot be found. He wrote, as translated: "The letters of Pierre Voyer d'Argenson, governor of Canada from 1658 to 1661, were in the Library of the Louvre (burned in the month of May, 1871); a part of those of M. de Montmagny, who administered the colony from 1636 to 1648, is at the National Archives; but the despatches of Louis d'Aillebout de Coulonges (1648-1651-7), of Lauson (1651-1656), of the Marquis de Tracy (1665-1667), and of M. de Courcelles (1668-1672), cannot be found."

This statement is quoted by Marmette (page xxviii), in 1885, and again by Richard (page 18), in 1899, as still presenting all that can be told for these parts of the early archives relating to Canada, after their very thorough examinations of these exceedingly voluminous old manuscript records. They comprise, in total, nearly 30,000 registers, cartons (drawings), and papers, "in perfect order," but "now located in the attic story of the Louvre, and anything but safe from the danger of fire." (Richard's Report, pp. 1, 15.)

See *Canadian Archives*, *New France*, and *New York*.

FRANQUELIN, J. B. Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale . . . contenant le Pays de Canada, ou la Nouvelle France, la Louisiane, etc., 1688. (The Lake Superior and Minnesota part of this ancient manuscript map is printed in Neill's History of Minnesota, frontispiece of the fourth edition, 1882; and Geol. Survey of Minnesota, Final Report, vol. i, 1884, pl. 2.) The river named on this map "R. des Grossillers," flowing into the northwest side of lake Superior, near its west end, has been thought to be named for Groseilliers; but its position corresponds well with the present Gooseberry river, which would be the meaning of that French name. This is the translation of its Ojibway name, as stated by Rev. J. A. Gilfillan (Geol. Survey of Minn., Fifteenth Annual Report, for 1886, p. 454). See page 513 of this paper.

GARNEAU, FRANCOIS XAVIER. History of Canada, . . . translated by Andrew Bell. (Montreal, 1866. Two volumes.) Pages 251-2, in volume i, refer to "two young traders," who in 1659-60 made an expedition to lake Superior and the Sioux, according to the Relation and Journal of the Jesuits, 1660. "They confirmed the report of two other Frenchmen who visited lake Michigan four years previously."

GARY, GEORGE. Studies in the Early History of the Fox River Valley. (Oshkosh, Wis. [1901.] Pages 267, and Index.) The first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson is noticed in pages 17-20, and is referred to the years 1658-60. It is thought that they traveled by the way of the Fox and Wisconsin river valleys to the Mississippi.

GENEALOGICAL DICTIONARY OF CANADIAN FAMILIES; see *Tanguay.*

GROSEILLIERS, MEDARD CHOUART, SIEUR DES, Letter in 1683; see *New France, Collection of Documents,* and *Neill.*

GUERIN, LEON. L'Histoire Maritime de France. (Four editions, 1842-51.) Volume iii mentions the sea voyages of Groseilliers and Radisson, belonging to the period after their land expeditions to Minnesota.

HEBBARD, S. S. History of Wisconsin under the Dominion of France. (Madison, Wis., 1890. Pages 178.) The western explorations of Groseilliers and Radisson are traced on pages 19-26. During Radisson's canoeing and hunting with the Indians in the summer of 1659 (the first expedition being referred to the years 1658-60), he is confidently believed to have entered the Mississippi river. The second expedition is thought to have occupied a single year, from the summer of 1661 to that of 1662.

Reviewing the achievements of Radisson, the author gives the following estimate of him: "This gay, rollicking Frenchman was a wise, brave, honest and great man. Few careers have blended so much of romance and solid service as his. The discovery of the Mississippi, the first exploration of lake Superior, the founding of a vast commercial enterprise which for two centuries controlled half the continent—how many among the famous have done so much as this?"

HILL, ALFRED J. The Geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota and the Regions immediately adjacent. (Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. ii, pp. 200-214. St. Paul, 1867; reprinted 1889.) This subject is very closely related to the geography and chronology of Radisson's Voyages. See *Perrot.*

HILL, ALFRED J. Associated with Hon. J. V. Brower, as noted under his name, foregoing, in the history and discussion of the early Spanish, French, and English explorers of the Mississippi river (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. vii, 1893). Besides the Appendix of this volume, in pages 305-352, Mr. Hill also contributed a large part of its historical and cartographical work, which is accredited to him explicitly in pages 289-292. The part thus contributed mainly by him fills pages 14-118, in which the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson are considered in pages 47-58. See *Brower.*

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES; see *Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.*

HOSMER, JAMES K. A Short History of the Mississippi Valley. (Boston, 1901. Pages 230.) The upper Mississippi is stated to have been reached by Groseilliers and Radisson in 1654 or 1655 (pp. 34, 42).

HUDSON BAY COMPANY. History; see *Bryce* and *Willson.*

INCARNATION, MARIE (GUYARD) de l'. Lettres de la Révérende Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Edited by P. F. Richaudeau. (Tournai, 1876. Two volumes.) Letter xxxv, dated at Quebec, August 27, 1670, as translated by Neill (Magazine of Western History, vol. vii, p. 418, Feb., 1888), says: "A Frenchman of our Touraine named des Groseilliers married in this country, and as he had not been successful in making a fortune, was seized with a fancy to go to New England to better his condition. He excited a hope among the English that he had found a passage to the sea of the north."

(These Letters were originally published at Paris in 1681.)

JEREMIE, NOEL. Relation du Détroit et de la Baie d'Hudson. (Amsterdam, 1710.) This earliest writer on the travels of Groseilliers and Radisson, cited by several in later times, fell in with what was probably a general credence of Radisson's assertion that they went beyond lake Superior to lake Winnipeg, and thence to Hudson bay. See *Ellis, Oldmixon,* and *Sulte.*

THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS: TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE, 1610-1791, the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes; Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles. Edited by REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1901. 73 volumes, the last two being an elaborate index.)

Volume xxviii, 1898, pp. 229, 319-320. Following the conclusion of Campbell, as published in 1896, Thwaites regards the unnamed explorers mentioned in the Relation of 1656 as Groseilliers and Radisson, returning from their first western expedition. "They again journeyed westward, in the summer of 1659, and spent the winter near Lake Pepin, among the Sioux tribes then located southwest of Lake Superior" (p. 320).

Volume xlii, 1899, pp. 218-223, 296. Chapter xiv in the Relation of 1655-56 tells of the return to Lower Canada, in August, 1656, of "two young Frenchmen" from explorations and trading with the Indians in the region of the upper Great Lakes, as quoted in this paper (p. 474). Thwaites says in his notes: "The identity of these two French explorers was long unknown; but recent historical researches sufficiently confirm the opinion that they were Radisson and Groseilliers. This is the first mention (so far as known), in contemporary documents, of their discoveries."

Volume xliv, 1899, pp. 237, 247, 324. "The two Frenchmen," mentioned in the Relation of 1657-58 as having visited the Indian tribes west of lake Michigan, are identified as Groseilliers and Radisson.

Volume xlv, 1899, pp. 160-163. The Journal of the Jesuits for August, 1660, notes the arrival at Montreal, August 19th, of three hundred Ottawas. with Groseilliers in their company, as before quoted (p. 519). He had "wintered with the nation of the ox," that is, the Sioux of the buffalo country.

The same volume xlv, in pages 233-239, has the account, in Chapter iii of the Relation of 1659-60, concerning "two Frenchmen," not there named,

who returned in August, 1660, from the upper lake region, "with three hundred Algonquins, in sixty canoes loaded with furs." This passage has been quoted (p. 517). The parallel account in the Journal of the Jesuits, just cited, makes it completely known that these pioneers of the fur trade were Groseilliers and Radisson.

As the Relations of 1656 and 1568 (vols. xlii and xliv) speak in a precisely similar manner of two French pioneer traders and explorers of the far west, without giving their names, it seems a very safe inference, with all the light on this subject given in the present paper, to regard them in each instance as the same, agreeing thus with the narratives of Radisson, and with Campbell's discussion of their chronology.

Volume xlvi, 1899, p. 69, mentions, in Chapter vi of the Relation of 1659-60, an alliance made with the Sioux by "the two Frenchmen who returned from their country this summer" (1660).

Volume xlvii, 1899, p. 279, states in the Journal of the Jesuits for May, 1662, that early in that month Groseilliers and ten other men were on a voyage down the St. Lawrence, passing Quebec, with the intention of "going to the North sea" (Hudson bay), either in canoes, by the route of the Saguenay, or, more probably in a small sailing vessel, by the sea route around Labrador. See *Ellis*.

Jesuits, Journal of the, 1660 and 1662; see *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vols. xlv and xlvii.

Kerr, Prof. Robert F. The Voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson in the Northwest from 1652 to 1684. (South Dakota Historical Society Collections, vol. i, 1902, pp. 163-178.)

The purpose of this paper, as stated on its title page, is "to negatively settle the contention that these men visited Dakota." A tradition has been variously published, which is here given as follows: "Two young Canadian fur traders accompanied a party of Indians to the far west, in 1654, and, it is thought, were the first white men who entered the present Territory of Dakota." A local newspaper writer, quoted by A. T. Andreas (Historical Atlas of Dakota, 1884, p. 176), claims that in 1654 the two traders reached Jerauld county, in South Dakota, between the James and Missouri rivers. Professor Kerr shows that this tradition, referring probably to the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, is not supported by Radisson's narratives, which he quotes at considerable length. He thinks that if they possibly came to South Dakota in either expedition, it was in the second, during the six weeks of their visit with the Praire Sioux, which he supposes to have been in the summer of 1659.

The two western expeditions are attributed to the years 1654-56 and 1658-60. It is thought that in the first expedition Groseilliers and Radisson "traversed a good part of the Mississippi," and that they may have "visited the Missouri as far as the Platte;" but that they did not pass through South Dakota and Minnesota, on the ground of Radisson's assertion that they did not see the Sioux at that time.

Kingsford, William. The History of Canada. (Toronto, 1887-1898. 10 volumes.) Pages 1-12 and 45-49, in volume iii, 1889, notice the relation

of Groseilliers and Radisson to the beginnings of English commerce with the region of Hudson bay. The author ignores the narratives of the four land expeditions, ascribed to Radisson's authorship, in the volume published by the Prince Society, declaring that part to be "without value," and apparently "the work of a writer of fiction."

He says: "It is difficult to find authority for the statement put forth of the original discovery of Hudson's Bay by des Groselliers and Radisson, on which so much stress has been laid" (p. 5); and again: "The names of two common-place adventurers have obtained mention in the chronicle of those days, to which they are in no way entitled; from the circumstance that they were brought forward by the French, for want of a better argument to sustain their pretensions to early discovery" (p. 12).

KIRK, THOMAS H. Illustrated History of Minnesota. (St. Paul, 1887. Pages 244.) The two western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 26-28 and 192. The first is referred to the years 1658-60; and the second, to lake Superior and the Sioux in Minnesota, is supposed to have been begun a few weeks later.

LAUT, AGNES C. Heralds of Empire, being the Story of One Ramsay Stanhope, Lieutenant to Pierre Radisson in the Northern Fur Trade. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1902. Pages viii, 372.) This highly imaginative and exciting fiction makes Radisson its hero, of great daring, ambition, and adroitness, but entirely selfish and often resorting to falsehood. Its scenes are laid in Boston and London, on the sea, and in the region of Hudson bay, treating of a period later than Radisson's expeditions with Groseilliers to Minnesota.

LAUT, AGNES C. The Real Discoverer of the Northwest; the Story of Radisson's Most Wonderful Journey. (Leslie's Monthly Magazine, vol. lviii, pp. 275-283; July, 1904.)

In this vivacious sketch, which purports to be based upon real history, the author gives an account of these Frenchmen and their dealings with the Indians on their western expeditions. She apparently considers the two journeys narrated by Radison as comprised in one expedition, from 1655 or 1656 to 1660, and that it extended westward to within sight of the outlying foothills of the Rocky mountains and "circled over the territory now known as Wisconsin, South Dakota, Montana, and back over North Dakota and Minnesota to the North shore of Lake Superior." The chronology, routes of travel, various incidents, and sequence of events, which Radisson related, are confusedly intermingled.

A previous article by this author in the same magazine is entitled "The Real Discoverer of the Northwest; the Story of a Wonderful Boyhood" (vol. lvii, pp. 667-678, April, 1904). It gives a very graphic narration of Radisson's captivity among the Mohawks and his escape, belonging wholly to the time preceding the far western expeditions.

LEGLER, HENRY E. Leading Events of Wisconsin History. (Milwaukee, 1898. Pages 322.) The travels of Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 24, 47-51, and 137. Although Chapter ii details somewhat fully

"The Strange Adventures of Radisson," the routes and dates of the expeditions are not very exactly stated. Concerning their supposed journeying to the Mississippi river, the author thinks that "evidence is lacking to prove the surmise."

LESLIE'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE, April and July, 1904; see *Laut.*

LUCAS, C. P. A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Volume V. Canada. Part I (New France). (Oxford, England, 1901. Pages 364.) Voyages of Groseilliers and Radisson by sea to Hudson bay, 1668-1684, are noticed in pages 185-7. Their pretended overland journey to the Bay from lake Superior is doubted.

MACALESTER COLLEGE CONTRIBUTIONS, St. Paul, Minn., 1890, 1892; see *Neill.*

MCCORMICK, HON. ROBERT LAIRD. Press History of Sawyer County, Wisconsin. (Hayward, Wis., April, 1898. Pages 20.) The second western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson is noticed in pages 4-5 and 7, being referred to the years 1659-60. Lac Courte Oreille, in Sawyer county, is regarded as the destination of their journey of four days southward from Chequamegon bay, coming to a village of the Huron refugees. See *Verwyst.*

MCCORMICK, HON. ROBERT LAIRD. A short letter, dated Dec. 26th, 1902, is published by Hon. J. V. Brower in Volume vi of his "Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi," 1903, p. 72. In this letter Mr. McCormick writes: "Historical students would welcome further information regarding the travels of these two explorers who doubtless saw the Upper Mississippi years before Joliet and Marquette, but in the absence of documentary testimony it is presumption to seriously claim that Radisson crossed Wisconsin on snowshoes from Green Bay to the Mississippi River in 1654-55."

MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE, Jan., 1901; see *Bradley.*

MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Feb., 1888; see *Neill,* and *Incarnation.*

MANCHESTER [ENGLAND] GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, 1895; see *Brower.*

MARIE DE L'INCARNATION, Letters; see *Incarnation.*

MARTIN, SARAH GREENE, and DEBORAH BEAUMONT MARTIN, with ELLA HOES NEVILLE. Historic Green Bay. See *Neville.*

MICHIGAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION; see *Moore.*

MINNEAPOLIS, METROPOLIS OF THE NORTHWEST. See *Morrison.*

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

Volume i, 1850-56; reprinted, 1872; again reprinted, 1902. The Preface to the edition of 1902, and a note on page 3, identify "the two early French explorers and traders, long unknown by name, who first traveled to the upper Mississippi and the area of Minnesota in 1655-6 and again in the winter of 1659-60, as Groseilliers and Radisson."

Volume ii, 1867; see *Hill* and *Perrot.*

Volume v, 1885; see *Neill.*
Volume vii, 1893; see *Brower* and *Hill.*
Volume viii, 1895-8; see *Blakeley* and *Brower.*
Volume ix, 1901; see *Baker* and *Carey.*

MOORE, CHARLES. The Discoverers of Lake Superior. (Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association, vol. ii, pp. 199-211. Ann Arbor, Jan., 1897.) The two western journeys of Groseilliers and Radisson are referred to 1658-60 and 1661-63. It is doubted that they saw the Mississippi, but the claim of an overland trip to Hudson bay is accepted. The chronology carefully studied out a year before by Campbell is considered and rejected.

MOORE, CHARLES. The Northwest under Three Flags, 1635-1796. (New York, 1900. Pages xxiii, 402.) These Frenchmen are noticed in pages 9-21, nearly as in the preceding paper; but the second expedition is supposed to end in 1662, and no mention is made of its alleged continuation to Hudson bay.

MORRISON, ANDREW, Editor. Minneapolis, Metropolis of the Northwest. (1887. Pages 218.) Groseilliers and Radisson are mentioned at length as the first white men in Minnesota, and later, through their influence in England, founders of the Hudson Bay Company (pp. 9, 10).

NEILL, REV. EDWARD DUFFIELD. The History of Minnesota, from the earliest French Explorations to the Present Time. (Four editions, 1858, 1873, 1878, and 1882.)

In all the editions, pages 103-4 briefly mention Groseilliers and Radisson, and credit to the former a journey, in or about 1659-60, to lakes Superior and Winnipeg, and thence to Hudson bay, being conducted thither by the Assiniboines.

The preface of the third edition credits to them an expedition in 1659 to La Pointe and Chequamegon bay; thence to the Hurons in northwestern Wisconsin; thence to the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota, wintering with the Sioux; thence, in 1660, to lake Winnipeg, and onward to Hudson bay; with return by the same route to lake Superior, and to Montreal on the 19th of August, 1660.

The same matter is presented, with changes and the addition of biographic details, in the fourth edition, pages 803-5 and 855; but the journey to Hudson bay is there referred to a later expedition of Groseilliers, in 1662-3, by way of lake Nepigon instead of lake Winnipeg.

NEILL, EDWARD D. Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, 1881-82. Pages 1-128.) This was published as the first part in numerous histories of counties and districts of this state, including Dakota, Hennepin, and Ramsey counties, each a separate volume, 1881; Washington county and the St. Croix Valley, 1881; and the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1881. It was also published the next year in the histories of Fillmore, Freeborn, Houston, and Rice counties, and of the Minnesota Valley, five volumes.

Chapter I, in six pages, refers somewhat fully to Groseilliers and Radisson. An expedition by them to lake Superior is referred to the years 1659-60; and a second expediton, also to lake Superior, but continuing thence to Hudson bay, is thought to have been made in 1660-62.

NEILL, EDWARD D. Discovery along the Great Lakes. (Chapter V, pp. 163-197, in Vol. iv, 1884, of Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.) Pages 168-172, 197.

NEILL, EDWARD D. Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. v, 1885, pp. 401-4.

NEILL, EDWARD D. Groseilliers and Radisson, the First Explorers of Lake Superior and the State of Minnesota. (Magazine of Western History, vol. vii, pp. 412-421, Feb., 1888.)

The first western expedition is said to have begun in June, 1659, the return being in August, 1660; and Neill's description combines parts of what Radisson relates for both the first and second western expeditions. Neill states that Groseilliers and Radisson went again to lake Superior in the same year 1660, starting August 27 with Father Menard; that Groseilliers returned to Lower Canada in 1661, but went back, to seek a route to Hudson bay, in 1662; and that he and Radisson, and also other Frenchmen who had gone with them to lake Superior in 1660, returned August 5, 1663. The pretended journeys to the Gulf of Mexico and to Hudson bay overland are not mentioned.

The following foot-note, on page 413, explains why so little care was taken to follow the narratives of Radisson in this confused and unwarrantable account of the expeditions to the region of Minnesota: "The Journals of Radisson, published by the Prince Society of Boston, in 1885, cannot be trusted for dates, but are correct in the description of the customs of the tribes he visited."

NEILL, EDWARD D. Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. x, 1888, pp. 292-297. Accepting the supposed chronology of the Prince Society's volume, the first western expedition is referred to the years 1658-60, and the second to 1662-'63 or '64.

NEILL, EDWARD D. Macalester College Contributions, first series, 1890; pp. 86-94, 223-4. The expedition to lake Superior, narrated by Radisson, is restricted to about one year, in 1659-60; and two later expeditions by Groseilliers are noted, with return from the last August 5, 1663. Perrot's account of the wanderings of the Hurons and Ottawas is translated; but no suggestion appears that Radisson's "first landing isle," not here mentioned, was their place of refuge, "Prairie island (Pelée)" on the Mississippi.

NEILL, EDWARD D. Macalester College Contributions, second series, 1892; pp. 152-158, giving a translation of a "Letter of Sieur des Groseilliers, the first white man to conduct an expedition to the Sioux." This letter, believed to be the only one extant of his writing, was addressed to the Marquis Seignelay at Paris in 1683, concerning the recent hostilities and repris-

als between the French and English on Hudson bay. See *New France, Collection de Documents.*

NEVILLE, ELLA HOES, SARAH GREENE MARTIN, and DEBORAH BEAUMONT MARTIN. Historic Green Bay, 1634-1840. (Green Bay, Wis., 1893. Pages 285.) The first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson is noticed in pages 17-24 and 40. The authors say of Radisson's Voyages, that "his journal is a valuable addition to history; his quick wit brightens all that he looked upon." It is thought that this expedition was in 1658-60, reaching the Mississippi in 1659; and that a part of the ensuing winter was spent "near the headwaters of the Chippewa." Nothing is said of "the first landing isle." The second expedition is not considered, because its route did not include Green Bay.

NEW FRANCE.—COLLECTION DE DOCUMENTS RELATIFS A L'HISTOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE. [Edited by Hon. J. BLANCHET, Secretary of the Province of Quebec.]

The more complete title of this work reads as follows: Collection de Manuscrits, contenant Lettres, Memoires, et autres Documents Historiques relatifs a la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Quebec, ou copiés à l'étranger; mis en ordre et édités sous les auspices de la Legislature de Quebec; avec table, etc. (Quebec, 1883-85. 4 volumes, chronologically arranged, 1492-1789; indexed.)

Groseilliers and Radisson, in their voyages to Hudson bay and conduct there, 1681-84, are noticed in Volume I, pages 283, 296-7, 302-3, 314-16, 318, 319, 320, 324, 331-2, 337, 360, 394.

Under the year 1683, but without more exact date, is given a "Lettre de Mons. Desgroseilliers au Ministre" (p. 314-16), which is evidently the same as that of which Dr. Neill later published an English translation in his "Macalester College Contributions" (Second Series, 1892, pp. 152-8). Neither Blanchet nor Neill, however, designates the source whence the letter, as thus respectively published, was obtained. The French and English versions differ somewhat in spelling proper names and in other details; and the latter has some short passages which were wanting, or were illegible, in the original French letter. See *Neill.*

NEW YORK: DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK; procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent, . . . Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D. (Albany, 1853-8, 10 volumes; with a General Index, Vol. xi, 1861, and vols. xii-xiv, 1877-83, edited by B. Fernow.)

Volume ix, 1855, mentions Groseilliers and Radisson in pages 67, 221, 251, 268, 305, 428, 794-801, and 919. The most important statements, as related to the present research, are on page 305, in a "Memoir in proof of the Right of the French to the Iroquois country and to Hudson's Bay," which was sent from Quebec, Nov. 8, 1686, by Denonville, Governor of Canada, to Seignelay in Paris, Minister of the Marine and Colonies. Denonville wrote: "The English in justification of their pretended right to the North Bay may allege that they made the first discovery thereof; . . . finally,

that in 1662 they established themselves there, having been conducted thither by Radisson and des Groselliers to the head (*fonds*) of the North Bay. . . .

"The settlement made by the English in 1662 at the head of the North Bay does not give them any title, because it has been already remarked, that the French were in possession of those countries, and had traded with the Indians of that Bay, which is proved still better by the knowledge the men named Desgroselliers and Radisson had of those parts where they introduced the English. They had traded there, no doubt, with the old French Coureurs de bois. Besides, it is a thing unheard of that rebellious subjects could convey any right to countries belonging to their Sovereign."

O'Callaghan, E. B., Editor; see *New York, Documents.*

Ogg, Frederic Austin. The Opening of the Mississippi, a Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior. (New York, 1904. Pages 670.)

The far western travels of Groseilliers and Radisson are considered in pages 53-56. Their first expedition is conjectured to have been in 1654-56, they being the unnamed French traders who are mentioned in the Jesuit Relation. A second expedition is thought to have been made by Groseilliers in 1658-59, "trading and exploring on the shores of Lake Superior," with return to the St. Lawrence "in the spring of 1659." Next, "within a few weeks," Groseilliers and Radisson traveled again to lake Superior, this time exploring the south shore to La Pointe and Chequamegon bay, spending the winter in "many excursions among the surrounding tribes," and returning to Lower Canada in the summer of 1660.

Groseilliers and other traders are said to have made a later expedition to lake Superior, going in August, 1660, and returning in 1663.

It is thought that they did not reach the Mississippi river in any of these expeditions, though coming to some of its eastern tributaries. This author makes no reference to Radisson's assertions that they went to the Gulf of Mexico and to Hudson bay.

Oldenburg, Henry, Secretary of the Royal Society, London, 1663-77; see *Ellis,* citing a letter from him.

Oldmixon, John. The British Empire in America. (Second edition, London, 1741. Two volumes.)

The last article of volume i, in pages 542-567, entitled "The History of Hudson's-Bay," has the following on page 544: "Monsieur Radison and Monsieur Gooselier, two Frenchmen, meeting with some Savages in the Lake of Assimponals in Canada, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the English had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two Frenchmen returned to the upper Lake the same way they came, and thence to Quebec." . . . .

The narrative proceeds with their efforts to interest the merchants of Canada and France, and later of England, in the establishment of the Hudson Bay fur trade. It indicates that Radisson's assertion of their visit to

Hudson bay by land during the second western expedition was generally believed in England.

See *Ellis* and *Jeremie*.

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, vol. iv, Toronto, 1903; see *Coyne*.

PARKER, GILBERT . The Trail of the Sword. (New York, 1894.) Of this novel, portraying Radisson's career, Prof. George Bryce says (Proc. Royal Society of Canada, 1898, sec. ii, pp. 53-4): "The character, thoroughly repulsive in this work of fiction, does not look to be the real Radisson. . . . . We shall find Radisson alive a dozen or more years after the tragic end given him by the artist."

PARKMAN, FRANCIS. La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.—The Introduction, in the editions of 1893 and later, refers to the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson as made in 1658-9, probably reaching the Mississippi.

PARKMAN, FRANCIS. The Old Régime in Canada.—In the editions of 1894 and later, a foot-note on pages 137-8 cites Radisson's account of the destruction of Daulac, or Dollard, and his party at the Long Saut. It is supposed that the time of the second western expedition, at the end of which this is related, places it three years after its true date, which was in May, 1660.

PARKMAN CLUB PUBLICATIONS, Milwaukee, Wis., 1895-8; see *Campbell* and *Stickney*.

PARLIAMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS, 1685-6 and 1690; cited by Kingsford.

PERROT, NICOLAS. Memoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Publié pour la premiëre fois par le R. P. J. Tailhan, de la Compagnie de Jesus. (Leipzig and Paris, 1864. Pages 341, with pages xliii of Index and Table of Contents.)

An extended quotation has been given (pp. 523-525), translated from pages 85-88 in Chapter XV of this book, concerning the settlement of the fugitive Hurons and Ottawas for a few years on Isle Pelée (Prairie Island).

Quotations covering a somewhat larger part of Perrot's work have been elsewhere published, in translation, first in 1867 by Alfred J. Hill in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. ii, pp. 200-214, reprinted in 1889; and by the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xvi, 1902, pp. 10-21. The occupation of Prairie island by the Huron and Ottawa exiles, as thus noted, was very intimately connected with the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson. It is indeed a key to the correct understanding of the routes of their first expedition, and to the identification of Prairie island as Radisson's "first landing isle."

Perrot's Memoir fills 156 pages; and the notes of the Rev. J. Tailhan, as editor, fill pages 157-341. Both parts shed much light on Radisson's narratives.

POTHERIE, DE BACQUEVILLE DE LA. Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale. (Paris, 1722. 4 volumes.) Pages 141-145, in the first volume, treat of the connection of Groseilliers and Radisson with the establishment of the fur trade in the region of Hudson bay.

PRINCE SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from Original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With Historical Illustrations and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. (Boston, Mass., 1885. Pages 385.)

Discussions concerning the historical value and meaning of this volume, with extensive quotations from it, form the foregoing paper.

Radisson's original French manuscripts of the voyages to Hudson Bay in 1682-84 have been since published by Douglas Brymner, with his translations. See *Canadian Archives, Report for* 1895.

PRUD'HOMME, L. A. Notes Historiques sur la Vie de P. E. de Radisson. (St. Boniface, Manitoba, 1892. Pages 62.)

At the beginning of this pamphlet, the author gives an eloquent summary of Radisson's life and character, which, translated by Prof. George Bryce, is in part as follows:

"What a strange existence was that of this man. By turns discoverer, officer of marine, organizer and founder of the most commercial company which has existed in North America, his life presents an astonishing variety of human experiences.

"He may be seen passing alternately from the wigwams of the miserable savages to the court of the great Colbert; from managing chiefs of the tribes to addressing the most illustrious nobles of Great Britain.

"His courage was of a high order. He looked death in the face more than a hundred times without trepidation. He braved the tortures and the stake among the Iroquois, the treacherous stratagems of the savages of the West, the rigorous winters of the Hudson Bay, and the tropical heat of the Antilles.

"Of an adventurous nature, drawn irresistably to regions unknown, carried on by the enthusiasm of his voyages, always ready to push out into new dangers, he could have been made by Fenimore Cooper one of the heroes of his most exciting romances. . . . .

"The celebrated discoverer of the North-West, the illustrious La Verendrye, has as much as Radisson, and even more than he, of just reason to complain of the ingratitude of France; yet how different was his conduct!

"Just as his persecutions have placed upon the head of the first a new halo of glory, so they have cast upon the brow of the second an ineffaceable stain.

"Souls truly noble do not seek in treason the recompense for the rights denied them."

The two western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson are reviewed in pages 22-36, the first being referred to the years 1658-60, and the second

to 1661-64, with a trip from lake Superior to Hudson bay, or at least to its southern part, called James bay, in 1663.

QUEBEC, ARCHIVES OF THE PROVINCE OF; see *New France, Collection de Documents.*

RADISSON, PETER ESPRIT; see *Prince Society Publications,* and *Canadian Archives.*

ROBINSON, DOANE. South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. ii, October, 1904, part i, p. 87; part ii ("A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians," 523 pages), p. 21. It is thought that Groseilliers and Radisson possibly journeyed into South Dakota.

ROBSON, JOSEPH. An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747 . . . . to which is added an Appendix; containing, I. A short History of the Discovery of Hudson's-bay, etc. (London, 1752. Pages 84, and Appendix of 95 pages.) The efforts of "Rattisson and De Groiseleiz" to establish the fur trade on Hudson bay, first for merchants in Canada, and afterward for those of Boston and of London, are narrated in pages 4 to 11 of the Appendix. Nothing is said of their pretended overland journey to Hudson bay from lake Superior.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA; see *Bryce, Dionne,* and *Sulte.*

SCULL, GIDEON D., Editor; see *Prince Society Publications.*

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY. History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River. (Historical Collections of Louisiana, embracing translations . . . Part iv; New York, 1852. Pages lxxx, of introduction, etc., by Shea, and 268, of translations, etc.) On page xxii, "De Groseilles and another Frenchman" are mentioned as having wintered on lake Superior in 1658, visiting the Sioux, and learning, from the fugitive Hurons, of a great river, evidently the Mississippi. This statement was based on the Jesuit Relation for 1660, and on the Journal of the Jesuits for the same year.

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY, translator; see *Charlevoix.*

SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.
Volume i, 1902; see *Kerr.*
Volume ii, 1904; see *Robinson.*

STICKNEY, GARDNER P. The Use of Maize by Wisconsin Indians. (Parkman Club Publications, No. 13, vol. ii, pp. 63-87, Milwaukee, Wis., March 9, 1897.) Pages 75 and 84-5 give Radisson's testimony of corn-raising in abundance by the Pottawattamies, and scantily by the Sioux; but the very noteworthy cultivation of much corn by the refugee Hurons on "the first landing isle," which is identified in the present paper as Prairie island, is not mentioned, probably because its situation had not been ascertained.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. Histoire des Canadiens-Francais, 1608-1880. (8 vols., Montreal, 1882-84.) Vol. ii, p. 144; iv, p. 143; v. , pp. 5-22, 55, 64, 65, 96-99, 146, 151; vii, pp. 10, 12.

The first western expedition is referred to the years 1654-56, relying on the Jesuit Relation of the latter year. Sulte affirms that the second western expedition started in the autumn of 1659; wintered near lake Pepin, on the Mississippi, among the Sioux of the Buffalo Prairies; and returned to the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1660. He concludes that Groseilliers and Radisson were certainly on the upper Mississippi in the second expedition, and perhaps also in the first.

Jeremie is cited in vol. v, pp. 8, 9, 13, 14, as stating that Groseilliers probably visited Manitoba and Hudson bay by land and canoe routes from lake Superior.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. Chronique Trifluvienne [Chronicle of Three Rivers]. (Montreal, 1879.) Pages 164-5, 188-9, 233.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. Le Pays des Grands Lacs, 1603 à 1660. (Published in *La Canada-Francais,* Quebec, 1889-90.)

SULTE, BENJAMIN. Pages d'Histoire de Canada. (Montreal, 1891.) Pages 276, 341, 367.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. Thirty-three articles in *Le Canadien,* St. Paul, Minn., Jan. 21 to Sept. 30, 1897, give the conclusions reached by this author in his later studies of Groseilliers (whom he commonly calls Chouart) and Radisson, reviewing carefully their two western expeditions and their service for the English in the region of Hudson bay. Their first expedition to the west is supposed to have been in 1658-60, with a visit to the region of Chicago in the spring of 1659. Sulte traces their travels afterward as passing north by Green bay to the south side of lake Superior, west to Chequamegon bay, southwest to the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers; and thence, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, returning to Green bay. "The first landing isle" he places at the mouth of this bay. No credence is given to the alleged journey south to the Gulf of Mexico.

August, 1661, and August, 1662, are noted as the dates of beginning and end of the second expedition, the account of a summer spent on Hudson bay being rejected. Groseilliers and Radisson are stated to have traveled then, for a second time, along the south shore of lake Superior to Chequamegon; and thence to the Nation of the Buffalo (the Sioux) in the neighborhood of the present city of St. Paul, but without detailed discussion of the route thither. According to Sulte, the great feast with the Sioux was somewhere near the site of St. Paul. The later travel north of lake Superior, in the country of the Crees, is thought to have extended to Pigeon river, but not farther, toward either Manitoba or Hudson bay.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. A series of many articles by Mr. Sulte in *Echo de l'Ouest,* Minneapolis, Minn., beginning April 11, 1902, treats of the early

French explorations of this region. Groseilliers and Radisson are considered in the issues of July 11 to August 15, but much less fully than in *Le Canadien*, 1897. Their second western expedition is here assigned to 1662-63.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. A summary of studies and conclusions on this subject, chiefly condensed from the two preceding series of articles, is contributed to Hon. J. V. Brower's Volume VI of "Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi," 1903, pp. 74-84. See *Brower*.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. Decouverte du Mississippi en 1659; read May 20, 1903. (Memoirs of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. ix, section i, 1903, pp. 3-44.)

In this latest statement of his prolonged studies of the explorations of Groseilliers and Radisson in the far west, Sulte writes of their first western expedition, thought to have been from 1658 to 1660. Groseilliers is said to have staid with the Mascoutins on the upper Fox river during the summer of 1659, while Radisson descended the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi, and thence went up the Mississippi past lake Pepin to Isle Pelée, returning to the Fox river after canoeing four months with the Indians. Next the two Frenchmen are thought to have voyaged in the autumn of 1659 to the Sault Ste. Marie, and west to Chequamegon bay, and to have visited the Sioux in the winter of 1659-60.

Their travel along the south shore of lake Superior and visit with the Sioux are thought to have been repeated again in their second expedition.

TAILHAN, REV. J., Editor; see *Perrot*.

TANGUAY, L'ABBE CYPRIEN. Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes, depuis la Fondation de la Colonie jusqu'a nos Jours. (Montreal, 1871-1890. Seven volumes.) Records of the birth, marriages, and children, of "Chouart, Medard, Sieur des Groseilliers," are given in volume i, page 129; and "Radisson, (De) Pierre-Esprit," is mentioned on page 507, as marrying a daughter of "chevalier Kertk."

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD. Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin. (Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xi, 1888, pp. 64-96.) This paper consists of extracts from the Prince Society's volume of Radisson's Voyages, with editorial notes. The expeditions to Wisconsin and Minnesota are considered to have taken place in 1658-60 and 1661-2. Radisson in his four months of hunting with the Indians, referred to the year 1659, is believed to have discovered the Mississippi.

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD. The Story of Wisconsin. (Boston, 1891. Pages 389.) Groseilliers and Radisson are the theme of pages 37-46 and 370, the same views being stated as in the foregoing and following papers.

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD. The Story of Chequamegon Bay. (Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xiii, 1895, pp. 397-425, with a map.)

The first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, referred to

the years 1658-60, is thought to have reached to the Mississippi river. Their second trip west, skirting the south shore of lake Superior to Chequamegon bay, is ascribed to the autumn of 1661, with extension to the lakes of Manitoba in 1662, followed later in the same year by their return to the Lower St. Lawrence.

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD, Editor; see *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Edition of 1896-1901 (73 volumes). The notes of this work confidently assign the western expeditions narrated by Radisson to 1654-56 and 1659-60.

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD. Father Marquette. (New York, 1902. Pages 244.) These French traders are noticed in pages 69, 70, 100, 131, and 139. The first western expedition is referred to the years 1654-56, with possible discovery of the Mississippi river in 1655; and the second or lake Superior expedition in 1659-60 is said to have extended "as far into the northwest as Lake Assiniboine."

TURNER, FREDERICK J. The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin. (Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1889, pp. 52-98.) Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 63-5, the return from their first western voyage or expedition being referred to the year 1660. The author cites the opinion of Thwaites, "that in this voyage they, first of all French explorers, reached the Mississippi."

UPHAM, WARREN. My identification of Radisson's "first landing isle" as Prairie island was studied out in 1897-8, but was first publicly stated in an address on "Explorers and Maps of Minnesota," at the graduation of the Mechanic Arts High School, St. Paul, June 13, 1899.

The principal parts of the foregoing paper were presented in three addresses before the Minnesota Historical Society, as follows: "The First White Men in Minnesota, Groseilliers and Radisson in 1655 at Prairie Island," in the Annual Meeting of the Society, Jan. 13, 1902; "The Second Expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson to Minnesota, 1659-60," March 10, 1902; and "Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River, 1498-1700," Oct. 13, 1902. Extended abstracts of the first and second of these addresses were published, respectively, by the *St. Paul Globe* and the *Minneapolis Times*, Jan. 14, and by the *Globe*, March 11, and the *Times*, March 13; and the first part of the third address was published in the *American Geologist*, August, 1902 (vol. xxx, pp. 103-111), under the title, "Growth of the Mississippi Delta."

UPHAM, WARREN. Discovery of Minnesota and of the Upper Mississippi. (Contributed to Volume VI of Hon. J. V. Brower's Memoirs, this volume, published in 1903, being entitled *Minnesota*.)

This article, in pages 86-104, reviews the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, and credits them with a stay at Prairie island during more than a year, from May, 1655, to June, 1656. It presents near-

ly all that part of the foregoing paper which refers to this expedition, and also the discussion of the migrations of the refugee Hurons, including the translation of Perrot's account of their spending a few years on Isle Pelée (Prairie island). See *Brower*.

VERWYST, REV. CHRYSOSTOM. Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard and Allouez, in the Lake Superior Region. (Milwaukee, 1886. Pages 262.)

Much of this volume is compiled by translation from the Jesuit Relations and from Perrot's Memoir. It treats of many topics that are closely related to the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, as the missions to the Hurons, Ottawas, Ojibways, Illinois, and other Indians, and the characteristics and customs of the various Indian tribes, west to the Sioux, and north to the Crees.

Pages 171-3, entitled "Groseilliers and Radisson, the Pioneers of the Northwest," refer to their second expedition, coming to Chequamegon bay. They are regarded by Verwyst as identical with the two early French traders concerning whom he quotes from William W. Warren (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. v, 1885, pp. 121-2) an Ojibway tradition of their being found starving on the island of La Pointe.

VERWYST, REV. CHRYSOSTOM. Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay. (Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xiii, 1895, pp. 426-440.)

"The first white men on the shores of Chequamegon Bay were in all probability Groseilliers and Radisson" (p. 433). They are here considered to be not the same with the two starving traders in the tradition related by Warren.

VERWYST, REV. CHRYSOSTOM, states, as noted by Campbell in his paper entitled "Père René Ménard" (1897), that an Indian trail extended from Chequamegon bay to Lac Courte Oreille. This trail is regarded confidently as the route taken by these Frenchmen and their Huron escort, and the site of the Huron village is thought to have been at this lake. See *Campbell* and *McCormick*.

WILLSON, BECKLES. The Great Company: being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay. (Toronto, 1899.) Pages 23-34, 42-51, and 69-124; including chapters ii, iv, and vii-x.

The volume published by the Prince Society seems to have been neglected by this author, who gives only a scanty and quite unsatisfactory account of the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson. Their first expedition here mentioned is the second to the west, as narrated by Radisson, to lake Superior and to the Tobacco Hurons farther southwest; and it is regarded as occupying about one year, in 1659-60. Groseilliers is said to have made two other expeditions west within the next three years, not accompanied by Radisson. There is no reference to an overland journey by them to Hudson bay. They are stated to have been Protestants, Radisson from youth, being of a Huguenot family, and Groseilliers after his marriage with Radisson's sister. [See page 519 of this paper.]

Nearly all of this narration relates to the period of their service with the English in the endeavors to build up the Hudson Bay fur trade. It is largely derived, as the author states, from a pamphlet entitled "French Villainy in Hudson's Bay."

An etched portrait of Radisson (since published also by Brower) is given on page 25, "after an old print;" and on page 124 he is said to have died at Islington, a suburb of London, in 1702. See *Brower* and *Bryce.*

WILLSON, BECKLES. Early Days at York Factory. (Canadian Magazine, Toronto, vol. xiii, pp. 3-9, May, 1899.)

Pierre Radisson, Bushranger. (Canadian Magazine, vol. xiii, pp. 117-126, June, 1899.)

These articles preceded the publication of "The Great Company." The first relates to Groseilliers and Radisson at Hudson bay in 1683. It has no illustrations, and says nothing of the land expeditions to the upper Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

The second article has a larger portrait of Radisson, said here to be "re-drawn from a rare old Paris print," with seven other illustrations. It relates wholly to the affairs of Radisson at Hudson bay, and in France and England, during the years 1683-1702.

WINCHELL, NEWTON H. The Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, Volume I of the Final Report. (Minneapolis, 1884.) Chapter I, 110 pages, is a "Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota." On page 3, Groseilliers and Radisson are stated to have spent the winter of 1659-60 with the Sioux in the region of Mille Lacs.

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Narrative and Critical History of America. (8 volumes; Boston, 1884-89.) Chapter v, pages 163-197, in vol. iv, 1884, by Rev. Edward D. Neill, treats of Groseilliers and Radisson in pages 168-172 and 197. See *Neill.*

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Cartier to Frontenac: Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America in its Historical Relations, 1534-1700. (Boston, 1895. Pages 379.) Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 182-7, 195-8, 253. and 301. They are supposed to have made three expeditions to the region of lake Superior, in 1658-9, 1659-60, and 1660-63, in the second perhaps reaching the Mississippi river.

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

Volume x, 1888; see *Neill.*

Volume xi, 1888, in pages 64-96, under the title, "Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin," reprints large parts of the Third and Fourth Voyages of Radisson, from the publication of the Prince Society. Many useful foot-notes are supplied by Reuben G. Thwaites, the secretary and editor.

Volume xii, 1892; see *Davidson.*

Volume xiii, 1895; see *Thwaites* and *Verwyst.*

Volume xvi, 1902, 514 pages, consists of translations from contemporary

French documents of the earlier and greater part (1634-1727) of "The French Regime in Wisconsin." It includes extracts from Perrot's Memoir (pp. 10-21), which have an important bearing on the narratives of Radisson; but his own writings, having been previously quoted at length in Volume xi, are omitted from this compilation. See *Perrot.*

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PROCEEDINGS, for 1889, see *Turner;* for 1895, see *Campbell.*

CONCLUSION.

In view of the very diverse opinions expressed by the many writers cited in the foregoing Bibliography, concerning the routes and dates of the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, it would certainly be unreasonable for the present writer to expect his studies and conclusions, stated in this paper, to be accepted without challenge and adverse discussions. It will yet require probably many years for historians to reach a general agreement as to the interpretation of Radisson's uncouth but exceedingly interesting narratives of these earliest expeditions to the upper Mississippi river (if indeed he came there, which some deny) and to the area which is now Minnesota.

Careful studies of this subject during seven years have led me to believe, with full confidence, that the arguments and results here presented are true, and that they will ultimately be so received by all students of our Northwestern history.

A SIOUX NARRATIVE OF THE OUTBREAK IN 1862, AND OF SIBLEY'S EXPEDITION IN 1863.*

BY GABRIEL RENVILLE.

WITH A BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR BY SAMUEL J. BROWN.

This Narrative is supplied through the kindness of Mr. Samuel J. Brown, son of Major Joseph R. Brown. The circumstances of his receiving the original Sioux manuscript, and of its translation, are told by Mr. Brown as follows:

This is to certify that I was well acquainted with Gabriel Renville, and know his handwriting, and also know that he was unable to speak or write the English language; that said Renville died at my house in Brown's Valley, Minn., August 26, 1892, aged about sixty-eight years; that sometime before the death of the said Renville his son, Rev. Victor Renville of Sisseton Agency, South Dakota, stated to me that he had in his possession an old manuscript written by his father concerning the Sioux outbreak of 1862; and that, upon my request, the said Victor Renville delivered to me the said manuscript, which appeared quite old, the first two or three pages being missing.

I further certify that Gabriel Renville, herein referred to, is the Gabriel Renville who was prominent in the councils of the Sisseton and Wahpeton Indians prior to and during the outbreak of 1862, who was appointed Chief of Scouts by General Sibley, and subsequently, at the suggestion of the Department of the Interior, was made Head Chief of said bands and remained such chief until his death.

I further certify that I examined the manuscript given to me by Victor Renville, and recognized it as being in the Sioux language and in the handwriting of said Gabriel Renville; that said Victor Renville stated to me that the manuscript was written by his father, Gabriel Renville, and was given to him about the time of his father's death; that I went to work upon said

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, Dec. 14, 1903, by Mr. R. I. Holcombe, who has added several foot-notes.

manuscript, which was in the Sioux language, and, in connection with Thomas A. Robertson of Veblin, South Dakota, an educated mixed-blood, made, in March last, a complete and accurate translation of the same; that the paper to which this certificate is attached is the original Sioux manuscript prepared by said Gabriel Renville; and that the copy with corrections, also hereto attached, is a true and correct translation of said manuscript into English. SAMUEL J. BROWN.

NOTE.—As a few pages at the beginning of Gabriel Renville's manuscript had been lost, it may be stated that he relates first what he saw at the Yellow Medicine Agency, also known as the Upper Agency, near the junction of the Yellow Medicine river with the Minnesota river, about thirty miles above the Redwood or Lower Agency, and nearly fifty miles above Fort Ridgely. The time was Tuesday, August 19th, the next day after the outbreak and massacre at the Lower Agency. Renville appears to be on the way from his farm, north of the Minnesota river, when he met a party of the Sioux, from whom he learned of the general outbreak, and of the attack against the Upper Agency during the preceding night.

THE OUTBREAK AT THE YELLOW MEDICINE AGENCY.

. . . It was some of these who came that night and drove away the storekeepers and plundered. They also reported that all the whites at the Agency had made a stand in the Agency buildings. They who reported this were of those who were not enemies to the whites.

I then went on as fast as I could towards the Agency, and stopped suddenly in front of the west door of the warehouse building. I did not see a single person, but heard very much of thumping noises. I then went around to the east door, and there saw that they had gone in that way and were plundering inside.

There was a house about four hundred yards south of the Agency buildings, from which I saw a woman come crying. I went towards her, and when I reached her I found it was my mother. She was very much frightened. When she saw that it was I, she was overcome and fell to the ground, and though she tried to get up she would fall to the ground again. I got down and took hold of her, assisting her to rise, and said, "Don't cry, but stand up. A great calamity has come to us, and we may all die. Stop crying, and try to control yourself."

I asked her what had become of the white people who belonged at the Agency. She said that that night, near daylight,

John Other Day had started with them all towards the east, and that among them was one white man who had been shot but was still alive and was taken along. [This was Stewart B. Garvie.] Then she said, "Your brother has gone to your sister's. It has now been a long time since he went, but he has not come back. I expect they are all dead." She meant my sister who lived with her children about eight miles south of the Agency. Then I said to her, "Mother, go back into the house and stay quiet there, and I will go home and come here again." I then mounted my horse, and rode as fast as I could towards my home.

About three miles north of the Agency there lived a white man who was a minister [Rev. Thomas S. Williamson]. He was the first man who came among the Wahpetons to teach them, and was called the Doctor. He came out and met me, and asked what was being done and what the news was. I told him, "My friend, a great commotion has come. All the people at the Redwood Agency, and all the farmers across the river from that Agency, are reported to have been killed. But the people of the Yellow Medicine Agency, and the traders at that place, have all fled under the guidance of John Other Day last night. Everything in the stores has been taken, and those buildings have been burned. The Agency buildings have been plundered and everything taken, but they are not burned. These things are true. Therefore, my friend, flee." He replied, "I have been a long time with the Dakotas, and I don't think they will kill me. My children have all gone, and I am alone with my wife." Then I said to him, "It is reported that even the mixed-bloods who are Dakotas have been killed, and the only thing for you to do is to flee." I then went into the house and shook hands with the woman, and again urged them to escape. Their fright was very great, as could be told by their paleness of countenance; and the wild look in the eyes of all whom I met, being the same in the faces and eyes of these people, moved by heart.

I came out of the house, rode swiftly away, and, fording the river, reached my home. I found the horses already hitched to the wagon, and we started in a hurry, going toward a ford which was a good crossing for wagons. I saw at that time the Doctor's children and others with them, who were crossing the river and fleeing towards the east under the guidance of an Indian who was friendly to the whites.

We crossed the river and went towards the Agency, and when we had gone about four miles some of the people I met were drunk. Two men took my horses by the bits, and accused me of fleeing towards the whites, and said that whoever did that was now an enemy. I told them I was not going there, but they did not believe me, and they used me roughly. I saw they were drunk, because one of them had a bottle tied to his arm. I then jumped to the ground, tore their hands loose from me, and took the bottle away from the man who had it. Pulling out the cork, I took a mouthful and swallowed some of it, but it burned my mouth and throat, so that I did not swallow all of it. I poured it out, and threw the bottle away and then went on. The reason why it burned my mouth was that it was white liquor and had not been mixed with water.

In a cellar under one of the buildings at the Agency was a forty gallon barrel of alcohol for the use of the Agency physician, which had been found by them and created very much of a commotion among the people who were then about the Agency. Every person had his gun, and those who were drunk were preparing to shoot at one another; but those that were not drunk held them, and that was how it came that no one was killed.

I saw this and went on to my mother's house, and found that my brother who had gone to where my sister and her children were living had come back. He reported that they had fled, but that some of the hostile Indians came, and that he thought they must have all been killed. These hostiles had their minds made up to kill him, but there was one who took his part and saved his life. Runners were continually arriving from the hostile Indians.

It was next reported that a detachment of soldiers that had been sent out from Fort Ridgely had been all killed.* About five o'clock in the evening it was reported that Major Brown's wife, children, and son-in-law, had all been taken prisoners. Major Brown's wife was our sister.

Thirteen of us decided to go into the Agency buildings and make a stand there, because they were strong, brick buildings. In the Agent's house were Mazo-ma-ne (Walking in Irons), Hin-tah-chan (Basswood), Shu-pay-he-yu (Intestines came out),

*Reference is made to the affair at Redwood ferry, August 18, 1862.

and Pay-tah-koyag-enah-pay (Appeared clothed in Fire). In the doctor's house were Ah-kee-pah (Coming together), Charles Crawford, Thomas Crawford, and Han-yo-ke-yah (Flies in the Night). In the school building were myself (Gabriel Renville), Two Stars, and E-nee-hah (Excited). In the farmer's building were Koda (Friend), and Ru-pah-hu (Wing). It was the next morning that we did this. Then Charles Crawford and Ah-kee-pah went to get Major Brown's wife and children, and got them and brought them back.

News was coming in every day, that Fort Ridgely was being attacked, that white settlers to the east and south were being massacred, and that New Ulm was attacked. It was also reported that a party of hostile Indians, many young men, had gone north on a war party, there being white people there and also a fort toward which they went.*

After these many things had come to pass, the hostile Indians, with their families, moved up towards the Yellow Medicine Agency, and had now arrived. Then Tah-o-yah-tay-doo-tah, or Little Crow, the chosen chief of the hostile Indians, came to where we were, and told us to get out of the houses that we were in. He said, "These houses are large and strong, and must be burned. If they are not burned, the soldiers will come and get into them, Therefore get out, and if you do not you will be burned with the buildings." So we got our horses and hitched them to our wagons, into which we put our belongings, and started north.

EFFORTS TO AID THE WHITE CAPTIVES.

When we had gone about a mile and a half, we came to where the hostile Indians had formed a camp. As we were passing through the camp, I saw many white prisoners, old women, young women, boys and girls, bareheaded and barefooted, and it made my heart hot, and so I said to Ah-kee-pah, Two Stars, and E-nee-hah, "If these prisoners were only men, instead of women and children, it would be all right, but it is hard that this terrible suffering should be brought upon women and children, and they have killed many of even such as these." I therefore had in mind to call a council, invite the hostile Indians, and appoint Mazo-ma-

*Fort Abercrombie, on the Red River of the North, about twelve miles north of Breckenridge.

ne and Marpiya-wicasta (Cloud Man) to say to the hostiles that it was our wish that the prisoners should be sent home. Ah-kee-pah, Two Stars, and E-nee-hah, agreed with me in my idea, and they told me to go on and do so.

We had by this time got about five miles from the Agency, at the home of Mr. Riggs. These houses were not yet burned and were occupied by some of the friendly Indians. John B. Renville was with them, and we made our camp near them.

I told Mazo-ma-ne and Cloud Man what I wanted of them, and they said they would do as I wished. I then went to the people that were in the Hazelwood Mission house, and told them what I was planning to do, and they also told me to go ahead and do it, and J. B. Renville gave me a calf to kill to feed the people that were to be called to that council. This was in the evening. The next morning early I killed a cow which I had tied up, and picked out two men, Tah-ta-wah-kan-hdi and Hin-ta-chan, to do the cooking.

When all was ready, but before the invitation was sent to the hostile camp, a large body of horsemen came towards us from that camp, two hundred or more. They all had their guns, their faces were painted, and they were gaily dressed. They came and stopped at our camp. Then I said to them, "We were about to send for you to come here to a council. But as you are here, whatever your purpose may be in coming, for the present get off your horses and have something to eat." They then got down, and after they had eaten they mounted again, and, forming around our camp, said, "We have come for you, and if you do not come, the next time we will come to attack you;" and firing their guns into the air they departed.

By this time Cloud Man, Mazo-ma-ne, and all those of our people who were about there came, and were much angered and said, "The Medawakantons have many white prisoners. Can it be possible that it is their object to make the Wahpetons and Sissetons their captives too? Call together those who are Wahpetons and Sissetons, and we will prepare to defend ourselves."

I at once sent out the two young men whom I had helping, and they on horseback went about and gathered our people together. When about three hundred had arrived, we painted our faces and got our guns, and, mounting our horses and singing, went towards their camp. When we arrived near the hostile

camp, we kept firing our guns into the air until we got within the circle of their encampment, and then rode around inside and came out again where we went in.

It was decided at that time that we would get all our people together and in the future act on the defense. With this understanding, all started to bring in their families for the purpose of forming one general camp of those friendly to the whites and apart from those who were hostile. We formed our camp in a circle west of Mr. Riggs' Hazelwood Mission buildings, and a large tent was put up in the center of the camp.

A soldiers' lodge was organized, and four men, myself, Joseph La Framboise, Marpiya-hdi-na-pe, and Wakpa-ee-yu-way-ga, were chosen as the chief officers or directors of this soldiers' lodge, to act for the best interests of the Sisseton and Wahpeton peace party.

After these four had been duly installed and authority given them, the first question discussed was the release of the prisoners, both whites and mixed-bloods; and it was decided that the effort should be made to have these prisoners returned to the whites, excepting that the men who were able to fight might be retained. The reason for this decision of the directors of the soldiers' lodge was that the hostile Indians would claim that if the men were released they would turn right around and fight them. Little Paul (Maza-ku-ta-ma-ne) was chosen as spokesman to present this to the hostile Indians.

Then the Medawakantons, the very enemies of the white people, called a big council, and invited us to it.* So we prepared ourselves by arming ourselves and painting our faces, and went over to their camp. It was decided, before we started, that now was the time for Little Paul to present the case for the release of the prisoners. When we arrived at the council, the Medawakantons made many speeches, in which they urged strongly the prosecution of the war against the whites to the fullest extent. Then Little Paul arose and made a speech, in which he said all he was instructed to say in regard to the release of the prisoners.

The spokesman of the Medawakantons was Wa-ki-yan-to-eche-ye (Thunder that paints itself blue), who arose and said

*For a report of this council, Little Paul's speech, etc., see Heard's History of the Sioux War, pp. 151-153.

that the captives should not be released, that the hostile Indians had brought trouble and suffering upon themselves, and that the captives would have to stay with them and participate in their troubles and deprivations. Many others spoke on their side. It was a big meeting, nearly a thousand people being present, and there was much excitement up to the time of the breaking up of the council.

BATTLE OF BIRCH COULIE.

It was now reported that many soldiers had got together at Fort Ridgely, and Little Crow with about four hundred men started for the Redwood Agency. About this time a detachment of soldiers had been to the Redwood Agency, and on their return camped at Birch Coulie. They were attacked that night by this party and were fighting until daylight. During that fight a mixed-blood ran out of the soldiers' camp, but was killed as soon as he got among the Indians.* After that a large party of soldiers came from Fort Ridgely, which stopped the fighting, as we were told.

Some who had been at that battle said that they thought they recognized Major Brown's voice, and it caused me to think much, for we had his wife and children with us. I then went to our soldiers' lodge, and, taking my place there, said that as it had been reported that many had been killed at the battle of Birch Coulie, we ought to send a party to investigate and find out, if possible, about how many were killed. My reason for this was that I wanted to come to some conclusion as to whether Major Brown was dead or alive. We then discussed the question, and it was decided that some one ought to be sent down there, and I suggested Charles Crawford. Others said that there ought to be two, so Wa-su-ho-was-tay was named, and these two were selected and sent to investigate the battle ground of Birch Coulie. When the Medawakantons heard of this, they also sent two of their men.

Our men came back the next day. They reported that they had been to the battle ground, and there were more than ten graves, but that they could tell nothing about how many were buried in each grave.

*Peter Bourier, of Capt. Anderson's company, who was on picket duty when killed. A report that he was deserting to the Indians was never verified.

Charles Crawford said that he had found a paper on the battle ground, but that those who were with him did not know that he had found it, and then he gave me the paper. This paper, he said, had been put into a cigar box and tied to a small pole or stake and stuck up on the battle ground. General Sibley's name was signed to this paper, so I knew that he had written it. I took it to our council lodge, and had it carefully read.

In this paper General Sibley wanted to know why it was that the Indians had become hostile to the whites, and that if any of them wished to see him they could do so, but must go in the road in plain sight, and that they would not be harmed and could return again. On getting this news, the minds of our people were still more drawn towards the whites.

COUNCIL ADDRESSED BY LITTLE PAUL AND LITTLE CROW.

Then we had a consultation in regard to the mixed-bloods, who, though they were white, were children of the Indians. It was thought to be wrong that their property should be taken from them, and that therefore their horses and wagons should be returned to them. After we had discussed the matter, it was decided to demand the property, and Little Paul was chosen as spokesman to present the matter to the hostile Indians.

We again painted our faces, took our guns, and went to the Medawakanton camp; and when we arrived at their soldiers' lodge, Little Paul said what he was told to say.* Then the public crier of the Medawakantons arose and said, "The mixed-bloods ought not to be alive, they should have been killed. But now you say their property should be returned to them. We will never do so."

Little Crow spoke next, and said that he was the leader of those who had made war on the whites; that as long as he was alive no white man should touch him; that if he ever should be taken alive, he would be made a show of before the whites; and that, if he was ever touched by a white man, it would be after he was dead.

So the hostile Indians would not consent to have the property of the mixed-bloods returned; but Joseph Campbell's wagon,

*For Little Paul's speech on this occasion, see Heard's History, pp. 156, 157. The speech was reported by Rev. John B. Renville and his wife, the latter a white woman and a missionary.

Mrs. J. R. Brown's wagon and horse, and Mrs. Andrew Robertson's wagon, were taken by us and returned to them. As we could see by this time that if any more of this property was taken by us and returned to the owners it would cause a fight between us and the hostile Indians, we stopped and went back to our camp.

After these things had happened, about three hundred horsemen came from the Medawakanton camp with their guns, singing and shouting their war cry. They came around on the outside of our circular camp, and, stopping in front of our entrance way, shot at the tops of our tepees, and shouting their war cry departed.

In the face of all this opposition of the hostile Indians, we were still determined to keep on the course we had laid out for ourselves, and again getting together decided that some person or persons should be sent to General Sibley's headquarters at Fort Ridgely. When the Medawakantons heard of this, they made the threat that anyone who was sent to Fort Ridgely would be killed. There was much discussion over the matter, but finally, when Little Crow said he was in favor of some one being sent, the two Toms [Thomas Robinson and Thomas A. Robertson] were designated as the ones to go, and they went.

We then got together again in our council lodge and decided to move our camp, having in mind to do everything in our power to discourage the hostile Indians. We hoped that finally they would see that we were so determined in our purpose that it would be wise for them to consent to our proposition in regard to the prisoners, and we therefore moved our camp.

About this time the two who had gone to Fort Ridgely for news returned. They had seen General Sibley, who had told them that he was not the enemy of those who were friendly to the whites, but was most assuredly the enemy of those who were the enemies of the whites; that he must have the captives returned first; and then he would meet the hostile Indians as men.

We then moved our camp, and the hostiles also moved theirs. They went north till they came to Red Iron's village, where they were halted, and, a great commotion occurring, a scattered camp was made. Some shots were fired, but no one was killed. The result of this move at Red Iron's was that the hostile Indians went no farther at that time.

When all had moved away from Yellow Medicine, Simon Anawag-ma-ne took a captive woman* and her child who could talk English, and, hiding with them, fled towards the whites. Lorenzo Lawrence also about that time took his own family and a white woman† and hid in the river bottom. Finding a canoe, he put them into it and started down the river in the night. On his way he came across a mixed-blood woman, who, with her children, was hiding, and taking them along he arrived safely with them at Fort Ridgely.

The making of the scattered camp, caused by the halting and commotion at Red Iron's village, had the effect of breaking up the hostile soldiers' lodge, and to some extent the influence that it had exercised over their own people. Therefore when it was proposed that messengers should again be sent to General Sibley, a few of the Medawakantons felt inclined towards the whites, and, secretly getting Thomas A. Robertson to write a letter for them, sent it by him to General Sibley. This letter was signed by Taopi, Good Thunder, and Wabashaw. There were other letters written to General Sibley, but all unknown to the hostile Indians.

The friendly Indians were by this time becoming much stronger, and getting together formed a camp west of the mouth of the Chippewa river. Then Taopi, Good Thunder, Wah-ke-yan-tah-wah, and a few others, came into the friendly camp.

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* A German woman, named Mrs. Neumann. Simon conveyed her and her three children in his one-horse wagon, he walking all the way.

† The white woman was Mrs. Jeannette E. De Camp, wife of J. W. De Camp, and she had three children. Her husband was killed at Birch Coulie. The mixed blood woman was the wife of Magloire Robideaux, a half-blood, who at the time was a member of the Renville Rangers, and who subsequently was a soldier of the Fifth Minnesota Regiment. Thus Lawrence released from captivity and restored to their friends no less than ten persons.

At about the same time two other mixed-blood families, who had been held as prisoners, made their escape. These were the wife and three children of William L. Quinn and the widow and daughter of Philander Prescott. Mr. Quinn was in charge of Forbes' store at the Upper Agency, but on the day of the outbreak was at Shakopee, on his return from a visit to St. Paul. When his family escaped, he was serving as a scout with General Sibley's army. Philander Prescott had been in Minnesota, chiefly connected with and among the Indians, for nearly forty years. He was residing at the Lower Agency on the morning of the outbreak, and when the murdering began sought to escape, but was intercepted and killed, and his gray head was cut off and stuck on a pole.

Mrs. Quinn had their children, named Ellen, William, and Thomas, and also her mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffries, another mixed-blood woman, who assisted in the work of escape, and Mrs. Prescott had her daughter, Julia. The two families, who had been held as prisoners slipped away from the Indian camp while the warriors were out at the battle of Wood Lake. They, too, came down the Minnesota in canoes, proceeding slowly and carefully for several days, living on potatoes dug from the abandoned gardens of the settlers. At last they reached Fort Ridgely and were cared for by the garrison. Mr. and Mrs. Quinn and William L. Quinn, Jr., now reside in St. Paul.

At this time the messengers that had been sent to Fort Ridgely the second time returned and reported that General Sibley was preparing to advance, and that the troops were crossing over to the west side of the Minnesota river.

At this camp it was reported to us that the so-called Medawakanton soldiers were coming to attack us, and we determined to defend ourselves. We soon saw them coming and got our guns, and then getting behind our tents selected about twenty of our men, among them being Mazo-ma-ne, Two Stars, Basswood, Wa-su-ho-was-tay, Wa-ki-ya-hde, and A-chay-tu-ke-yah, with Mazo-ma-ne as spokesman, to go and meet them and tell them that they must come no farther, but go back, and that, if they persisted in coming on, we would fire on them.

So these men went to meet the Medawakantons, and forming in line waited for them to come. When they got near, Mazo-ma-ne commanded them to halt, and said to them, "If you come any nearer we will shoot. Why are you treating us in this way? You have brought about the destruction of everything we had to live on. Do you also want to make captives of us? No, you can never make us your captives. Go back." So they went back, without coming any farther.*

The horses had eaten all the grass down to the ground, so we moved our camp about a half mile to the east. There again the Medawakanton soldiers came, and having taken us unawares pushed over some of our tents, but on being ordered to stop they quit and went back to their camp.

BATTLE OF WOOD LAKE.

They later moved their camp about a half mile to the westward. It was at that time that the hostile Indians decided that they were ready to go and meet General Sibley's command, ordering everybody to go, and making the threat that those who did not go would be punished by their soldiers' lodges, and that now was the time to wipe out General Sibley's command, which they said they intended to do. This was the reason that some of the friendly Indians were told to go down there to see if the sol-

*Mazo-ma-ne was mortally wounded at the battle of Wood Lake, while carrying a white flag as directed by General Sibley. See "Monuments and Tablets," p. 73.

diers would all be killed, and the others to stay and take care of the camp.

The start was now made to meet the troops. Sibley had gone into camp about one and a half miles south of the Yellow Medicine river, and the Indians were camped on that river. A consultation was then had as to how it was best to attack Sibley's command, the council being held in the evening. Little Crow's plan was to quietly advance under cover of the darkness until the guards fired, and then rush in, and, as soon as the troops rose up, to halt, fire one volley, charge forward, and massacre them.

Then I spoke and said, "It is not true, what you have said about there being only a few of the soldiers. There are many more than you have said. They also have spy-glasses, and have seen the Indians coming here. They have their big guns in readiness, and are prepared for a surprise. Therefore what you say is not right."

Then Two Stars spoke and said, "I do not think your plan is a good one, because if the attack is made at night only a part of us will go, and many will not go. Your plan therefore would fail. I have been told that over here in the west they would lie in ambush for the troops, and when they came up to them the Indians would rush in, cutting the command in two, and then would kill them all. I think that would be a better plan for you."

The reason for Two Stars saying this was, that, if the attack was made in daylight, the friendly Indians would have an opportunity to let the troops know what was planned. Thus the plan of attack was argued until daylight.

When the morning came, some of the soldiers who were going for potatoes were fired upon by the Indians and chased back into their camp, and two companies of soldiers came out and drove the Indians back. Then all the hostile Indians rushed in, and drove back the two companies of soldiers, and killed three of them before they reached their camp. Afterward the Indians surrounded the camp, and fired on the troops from all sides. As soon as the soldiers were ready, however, they came out of the camp and pursued the Indians, killing many of them. The Indians then withdrew and went back to their camp, and the next morning fled to the northward.

RESCUE OF THE CAPTIVES.

During this time the friendly Indians in their camp had been digging pits outside of their tents, and being armed went about taking and bringing into their camp the white captives, putting them into the pits, and thus rescuing them from their great sufferings.

About this time a war party, with some prisoners in their possession, were reported passing to the westward of the friendly camp. Therefore I and Too-kan-shaw-e-che-ya, with others, pursued them, and after some resistance they were compelled to give up the prisoners, and we brought them into the friendly camp. Strict guard was kept all that night.

The next day General Sibley arrived with his command, who made their camp to the eastward of the friendly camp, near the Minnesota river. With joyous handshaking we met, and the white prisoners were taken into the soldiers' camp.

During this time some of the hostile Indians with their families had been returning under cover of the night, and pitched their tents among the friendly Indians. This was reported to General Sibley, who issued an order demanding that all arms and amunition that had been taken out of the stores and government warehouses should be given up, and this was done.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF INDIAN PRISONERS.

Then word came that the Indians would be sifted as you would sift wheat, the good grain to be put into the bin, but the chaff and the bad seeds to be burned. This was done, and all those who by good evidence were proven to have done anything against the whites were put into irons. Indian scouts were appointed and followed after the hostile Indians, many of whom were overtaken in their flight and brought back.

Soon after that the friendly Indians, with those of the hostiles who had sneaked in, were all ordered to move with their families to the Yellow Medicine Agency. A camp was formed on and about the Agency grounds, with a detachment of soldiers to guard them.

At this time a few of the Indians from this camp crossed the Minnesota river and fled, and another party went off in the night and fled north. These things happening, the commander at this place ordered every man, woman, and child, to come, and a list was made of all those who were under his charge. All able-bodied men were shut up and put under guard, but shortly afterwards those who were friendly were released.

Again, another one of those who were under guard got away, and the commanding officer ordered that, if he was not found and delivered over to the soldiers, the head men should be locked up in his place. Search was immediately made, he was found and captured, and was delivered over to the soldiers.

As myself and Ah-kee-pah, and our families, had not been implicated in any of the outrages against the whites, we were given the privilege of being outside of the Indian camp, coming and going as we pleased. This being the case, I went back to my old home across the Minnesota river.

Soon after this, General Sibley with his command, bringing the Indians that were there with him, moved down to the Yellow Medicine Agency, and thence, taking all that were there, moved down to the Redwood Agency.

Everything that I owned at my old home had been taken or destroyed by the hostile Indians. Having nothing to live on, and the outlook being very dreary, I moved my camp to Redwood Agency, and pitched my tent with the friendly Indians who were then camped on the north side of Sibley's command. The families of those who had been suspected of doing anything against the whites were camped on the south side of the troops.

From this encampment, after the proceedings of the military court had been closed, and when all parties had come in from hunting the hostile Indians, those who were friendly, with their families and the families of those who had been convicted, were taken to Fort Snelling, and the convicted men were taken to Mankato.

On the way, when they were passing through the town of New Ulm, the whites were very much excited. Both men and women, coming with stones, bricks, and pitchforks, and anything they could lay their hands on, and rushing through the ranks of

the soldiers who were guarding them, attacked the chained prisoners in the wagons, and knocked many of them senseless. The guards, striking these whites with their sabers, drove them back. Finally, with much difficulty, they were brought through the town. Arriving at Mankato, the convicted men were there imprisoned.

Ah-kee-pah and Red Iron, though not prisoners, were with those who were at Mankato, and were quartered with the soldiers outside of the Indian prison.

Thirty-eight of those who were convicted and sentenced to be hung paid the penalty. When they were waiting for the drop, these men sang and recounted their war deeds and sent farewells to their absent relatives, and while all this was going on the time came, the rope was cut, and thirty-eight hostile Indians hung in the air, each with a rope around his neck.

SIOUX CAMP AT FORT SNELLING.

The friendly Indians and their families, and the families of the prisoners, on their way to Fort Snelling, passed through Henderson, at which place the whites were very much angered and threw stones at the Indians, hitting some of them, and pulled the shawls and blankets off the women, and abused them much. But they finally got through the town without any one being killed, and formed a camp beyond the town, in an open prairie.

They were then taken down on the east side of the Minnesota river, and went into camp at some distance from Fort Snelling. Shortly after this the camp was moved again, being located close to the Minnesota river. These camps were always well guarded, but in spite of that many of the horses and oxen belonging to the Indians were stolen, including three horses that belonged to myself and Charles Crawford.

Then a fence was built on the south side of the fort and close to it. We all moved into this inclosure, but we were so crowded and confined that an epidemic broke out among us and children were dying day and night, among them being Two Stars' oldest child, a little girl.

The news then came of the hanging at Mankato. Amid all this sickness and these great tribulations, it seemed doubtful at night whether a person would be alive in the morning. We had

no land, no homes, no means of support, and the outlook was most dreary and discouraging. How can we get lands and have homes again, were the questions which troubled many thinking minds, and were hard questions to answer.

FRIENDLY INDIANS APPOINTED AS SCOUTS.

Then I went to General Sibley and had a talk with him, and suggested to him that some mixed-bloods be picked out as scouts and sent to Redwood Agency. But this was a difficult matter to consider, so General Sibley called into consultation the officers under him, and a letter was written to the great father in regard to it. An answer came, and I was asked who I thought should be sent out there. I gave in the names of myself, Michael Renville, Daniel Renville, Isaac Renville, John Moore, Thomas Robinson, and four full-blood Indians.

I was laughed at, and was asked whether I thought it was a light matter to so soon send out these full-blood Indians. My answer was, "You told me to pick out reliable men. I have done so. There are full-blood Indians who are more steadfast and more to be depended upon than many of the mixed-bloods. This is why I have chosen them." The question was referred to the authorities at Washington, and in about a month the answer came that this might be done. Two Stars, E-chay-tu-ke-ya, E-nee-hah, and Wah-su-ho-was-tay, were chosen.

In the month of February, 1863, having got permission from General Sibley and rations, we came out of the inclosure at Fort Snelling and started on our journey. In passing the different towns on the way the people saw we were armed, and, surmising our occupation, they respected us and did not molest us in any way. We arrived at Fort Ridgely, and passing up the Minnesota river made our headquarters on Rice creek. The white men who had brought us thus far in sleighs then returned. Other scouts were added to these until ten of us had made our camp at Rice creek. Alexis and Joseph La Framboise came to where we were, and were included as scouts by General Sibley, and we staid there together.

After a short time we took provisions and blankets and started on a scouting expedition up the Minnesota river. We

came to Yellow Medicine, and then went on up the Minnesota to the Chippewa river. There we found signs of the hostile Indians, and commenced searching for their camp. They had sent their families away, and had waited for us to come, as we learned afterward; but we were so long getting there that they finally followed their families, and we lost track of them. Then we came back and reported. Later we went on another scouting expedition to the westward. We kept working in this way till spring.

Soon after that an Indian by the name of Mar-pe-yah-doo-tah came into our scouts' camp from the region to which the hostile Indians had fled, and we took him to Fort Ridgely.

BEGINNING OF SIBLEY'S EXPEDITION, 1863.

The soldiers that were to go on General Sibley's expedition began to arrive, and with them were scouts who with their families had come from Fort Snelling. These are their names:

Anawag-ma-ne,
Kah-tah-tay,
Wah-kon-bo-e-day, and his brother,
Narcisse Frenier,
Charles Crawford,
Kah-wan-kay,
Joseph Renville,
Antoine Renville,
Ah-we-tan-e-nah,
Joseph Le Blanc;

also the following Medawakantons:

Wah-ke-yan-tah-wah,
Good Thunder,
Taopi,
Wah-hah-chan-kah,
Chay-tah-shoon,
Mah-pe-yah-wah-koon-zay,
Henry Ortley.

Three other scouts came up in a steamboat from Mankato, namely, Ah-wee-pah, Thomas Crawford, and Han-yo-ke-yan.

When General Sibley had completed his plans for the expedition against the Sioux in 1863, he notified the troops that were in camp near the Redwood river what day he would be there. Great preparations were made, and amid the playing of bands and waving of flags he was received with much distinction and honor.

It was decided there as to which scouts were to go on the expedition, and which were not to go. The following are the

names of those who were not to go, but to remain and scout with their headquarters at Fort Ridgely:

Two Stars,
Joseph Le Blanc,
Antoine Renville,
Han-yo-ke-yan,
Ah-we-tan-e-nah,
Mah-pe-yah-wah-koon-zay,
Wah-hah-chan-kah,

INDIAN SCOUTS IN THIS EXPEDITION.

The following are the names of those who were to go as scouts with General Sibley's expedition:

Gabriel Renville,
Michael Renville,
J. B. Renville,
Daniel Renville,
Isaac Renville,
Joseph Renville,
E-ne-han,
A-chay-tu-ke-yah,
John Moore,
Thomas Robinson,
Charles Crawford,
Thomas Crawford,
Kah-tah-tay,
Anawag-ma-ne,
Wah-kon-bo-e-day,
Henry Ortley,
Little Paul,
David Faribault, Sr.,
William L. Quinn,
Alexis La Framboise,
Joseph La Framboise,
We-yon-ske,
Chay-tah-shoon,
Taopi,
Wah-ke-yah-tah-wah,
Ah-kee-pah,
Kah-wan-kay,
Joseph Campbell,
Narcisse Frenier,
Joseph Coursall,
Good Thunder,
Wa-su-ho-was-tay.

FIRST MEETING WITH THE HOSTILE SIOUX.

The expedition then started, going by the way of Yellow Medicine, Lac qui Parle, Yellow Bank, and the foot of Big Stone lake, to the planting grounds of the Sissetons at the head of lake Traverse. Thence they went by the way of the big bend of the Sheyenne river, Bear's Den, and the Bald hills, to Eagle hill, and from there it was not far to the Missouri river.

There were Indians camped at this place, and some of General Sibley's scouts came suddenly upon some of the Indians. Little Paul was the first one to see them and reported it, and I was the first one who shook hands with the Indians who were coming. Some of them wanted to shoot me, but through the bravery of O-win-e-ku, who was a relative of mine and took my part, I finally met and shook hands with them.

Biographic Sketch of Chief Gabriel Renville.

By Samuel J. Brown.

The subject of this sketch was born at Big Stone lake about April, 1825, and died at the residence of the writer at Brown's Valley, Minn., on August 26, 1892, being in his sixty-eighth year at the time of his death.

Gabriel's father was a full and only brother of the noted bois brulé, Joseph Renville (for whom one of the counties of the State is named), and was called in Sioux Ohiya, and in English Victor,—the latter a translation of the Sioux name. Ohiya or Victor Renville was born and reared among the Sioux, and, though a mixed-blood, was, it is said, in appearance, language, habits, and feelings, a full-blood Sioux. He was a warrior of considerable note, and while on the war-path against the Chippewas was killed and scalped in the neighborhood of what is now Fort Ripley about the year 1832, shot dead in his canoe while coming down the Mississippi.

Gabriel's mother, Winona Crawford, also a mixed-blood, was the grand-daughter of Ta-tanka-mani, or Walking Buffalo, mentioned by Lieutenant Pike in 1805, and also described in Neill's History of Minnesota as a "Sioux chief who was the principal man at the treaty of Portage des Sioux [near the mouth of the Missouri river] in 1815," and was the daughter of a Sioux woman (Ta-tanka-mani's daughter) and a Mr. Crawford, a prominent British trader in the Northwest prior to and during the War of 1812. She was also born and reared among the Sioux, and, though married, always retained her father's name. She lived for some time with the family of the noted Colonel Dixon, the "red-headed Scotchman" and trader at lake Traverse, who figured so prominently among the Indians of the Northwest in the war with England in 1812. She was married about 1819 to Narcisse Frenier, a bois brulé and Indian trader at lake Traverse, who, shortly after his marriage went over to the Missouri river to look for a location for a trading post, was taken sick on the trip, and, as is supposed, died, for he never returned. By this union there was born a daughter, Susan, who became the wife of the late Joseph R. Brown, and who is still living, and

now residing with her son, the writer, at Brown's Valley, Minn.

After Frenier's death, Winona married Ohiya, or Victor Renville, and by this union there was born a son, the subject of this sketch. About three years after the death of Gabriel's father she married Akipa, a full-blood, who later was given a white man's name and called Joseph Akipa Renville, and who was always prominent in the councils of his tribe, and who died at Sisseton Agency, South Dakota, in 1891. By this union there were born two sons, Charles Renville and Thomas Renville, both of whom have in late years added "Crawford" to their name, and who are now living at Good Will, South Dakota, the former being pastor of the Presbyterian church there. Winona Crawford died at Sisseton Agency, S. D., in 1897, aged about ninety-two years.

Gabriel Renville never attended school, except for about a month in Chicago, and except also when he was learning to read and write his own language from the missionaries. When he was about sixteen years old, my father, then living at Grey Cloud, after cutting his hair and dressing him in white boys' clothes, took him to Chicago and placed him in school there; but schoolroom confinement and association with strangers speaking an unintelligible and strange tongue did not agree with him or suit him, and in about a month he ran away and traveled on foot across the prairies of Illinois and through the woods of Wisconsin back to his home in Minnesota. He could never be induced to return, but in later years always upbraided my father for not giving him a sound thrashing and sending him back.

He spoke no English, but was a thorough master of the Sioux tongue. He possessed an unlimited command of the language, was an easy speaker, and was never at a loss for words. The writer was intimately associated with him for many years,—acted as his interpreter on many a visit to the Great Father at Washington, and had therefore ample opportunities for judging,—and can say that in his opinion Gabriel Renville had no superior—no equal, even—as to ability in the use of the Sioux language. He knew the use of it so well and so completely that his every word was a sledge hammer, always clear, homely but strong, and to the point. The writer well remembers that on one occasion when in Washington he was asked by a high official if he would be pleased with an Eastern man for Agent. His answer was,

"No, give us a Western man. Eastern men are wise and good, but they can't tell an Indian from a buffalo calf."

In personal appearance Chief Renville was a striking figure, —broad-shouldered, tall, straight, sinewy, and athletic looking. He would command attention anywhere.

As to his services and conduct during the Sioux outbreak of 1862 and the war following the outbreak, as well as the estimate placed upon his character and worth by prominent men who knew him, the writer can do no better than to give extracts of letters and papers from Gen. H. H. Sibley, Major Joseph R. Brown, Gen. John B. Sanborn, Senator C. K. Davis, all of Minnesota, and Prof. C. C. Painter, formerly of Fisk University, Tenn., and afterward agent of the Indian Rights Association at Washington, D. C.

General Sibley, in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated June 22, 1868, said:

Mr. Renville was among the most trusted and reliable of the mixed-bloods employed by me, while I was prosecuting the campaigns against the hostile Sioux in 1864 and 1865. Indeed, so well pleased was I with his fidelity, energy, and intelligence, that I appointed him Chief of the scouts to whom the outer line of defences of the frontier of this State, and of Dakota Territory, was entrusted; and he signalized himself by unremitting and distinguished services, in that important position.

Mr. Renville was instrumental in saving the lives of many white captives, taken by the Indians in 1862, by his influence and determined efforts in their behalf; and he lost a large amount of property, including horses, appropriated by the hostile savages, or destroyed, in consequence of his opposition to their murderous course.

In fact he was reduced from a position of comfort and comparative opulence, to depend upon what he could earn by his daily exertions, for the subsistence of himself and his family, and he was not included in the award of the $7,500 appropriated by Congress to be apportioned among those who had remained faithful to the government, by some strange and unaccountable omission.

I have appealed many times to the Interior and War Departments in behalf of the Indians and mixed-bloods who exposed life and property in defending the whites against the outrages and massacres to which so many were subjected, during the outbreak referred to, but no one individual is entitled to more consideration than Gabriel Renville, and I trust it will be in the power of your Bureau to make ample amends to him for the losses he has sustained, and the sacrifices he has made, in maintaining the power of the government against the organized and almost universal disaffection and violence of his own kindred and people.

Major Brown, in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated March 5, 1870, said:

Those organized for an armed resistance to the hostilities of the hostile bands were largely of the relations of the Chief, and were organized and operated under his exertions and authority. By the exertions of those Indians hundreds of whites were saved, and many of the hostile bands were punished. During the month of May, 1865, thirteen men who were on their way to depredate upon the whites were killed at different times by those friendly Indians, while acting as scouts for the protection of the frontier under the immediate command of Gabriel Renville, their chief.

Professor Painter, in a letter to Dr. Edward Everett Hale, of Boston, dated in September, 1888, said:

Renville is a fine specimen of the "noble red man;" stately, dignified, reticent, intelligent, straightforward and manly in his bearing, impressing those with whom he meets as possessing great reserved force which could easily be called into action if his good sense and perfect mastery of himself consented. During the winter I had many interviews with him, and was impressed always increasingly by the quiet dignity and greatness of the man. He told the story of his great wrongs in an unruffled, dispassionate calmness, which almost appeared to be indifference, but there were now and then flashes of lightning in his eye which revealed reserves of strength and feeling which were under the control of a master mind and will.

General Sanborn, in a note to the writer dated September 16, 1892, said:

Renville's death was a great loss to his people, and to all his acquaintances. He was one of the best, if not the best man I ever knew, if good and benevolent actions done from good and benevolent motives constitute true goodness, which I think all concede. He was also a man of great mental force, capable of doing a great deal of good or a great deal of evil. It was fortunate both for the Indians and the whites that his influence and power was always used and always found on the side of right and justice. The Sissetons cannot expect to see his like again.

Senator Davis, in the course of a speech in the United States Senate, according to the Congressional Record of February 8, 1899, said:

I knew Gabriel Renville well. He first called my attention to this subject when I was governor of Minnesota, in 1874 and 1875. He was a great man in his way, and was a good man from any point of view. His men fought on our side in the Indian war. He rescued many white women and children from the hands of Little Crow and his band, then waging war

against us. He sent his young men into the armies of the United States during the war of the rebellion.

The writer is in possession of many other letters and papers from many other prominent men, among them Bishop Whipple, Dr. Daniels, and Major Rose, all of whom knew him well, all speaking in the highest terms of the man; but space will not allow of their reproduction here, and so will content himself by simply saying that he believes that the brains of Gabriel Renville saved many whites during the Sioux outbreak of 1862, that no person in the friendly camp made greater exertions for the preservation of the whites than he. and that the combination of friendly Indians and mixed-bloods, through which the white captives were obtained from the hostile Indians and delivered over to General Sibley, originated with and was organized by him.

So deeply and so thoroughly was the Department of the Interior impressed with Renville's abilities and general usefulness that at the close of the Indian war, at its suggestion, he was made Chief of the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux of lake Traverse, and remained as such chief until his death.

This rambling and imperfect sketch, already too long, must be brought to a close. But before doing so the writer would add that Minnesota owes much to Gabriel Renville, and that the least it ought to do for him would be to cause a suitable monument to be erected to his memory; and that in his opinion the shaft so to be erected should stand not only on the soil of the State he loved and served so well, but also on the spot where his forefathers lived, on the "old Sioux reservation." which was confiscated by Congress, and which he labored so hard to have restored to the scouts and soldiers of his tribe, on the spot where General Sibley camped for a week with his whole army in 1863, preparing for a dash across the plains to the Missouri, and where Renville was then consulted and advised with so often, and where he and his scouts were accustomed to bivouac while "chasing the Little Crow," and where the old chief died, between Big Stone and Traverse lakes. Let this be done that we may show to her sister states, and indeed to the world, that Minnesota can honor a worthy son, even though a mixed-blood Indian.

Brown's Valley, Minn., Nov. 18, 1903.

THE WORK OF THE SECOND STATE LEGISLATURE, 1859-60.*

BY THE PRESIDENT, GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN.

The object of this paper is to present concisely but clearly the work of the Second State Legislature of Minnesota and its influence upon the character and destiny of the State.

That this work was honestly, faithfully, and intelligently performed, cannot be disputed; that it was largely and beneficently influential upon the State's welfare is confidently believed. The legislation enacted at this session established wise policies which have been in the main perpetuated, and laid foundations for prosperous conditions which have never been removed or shaken. The precedents inaugurated have often been followed; the lessons taught will for a long time to come be studied.

The First Legislature, chosen in 1857, met December 2, of that year, took a recess March 25 until June 2, 1858, and finally adjourned August 12. In politics it was largely Democratic in both branches, and the Governor and other State officers were also of that political faith. Under the apportionment, as fixed by the Constitution, the Senate consisted of 37 members and the House of 80, although at the time the total white population of the young State was only about 150,000. The effects of the general financial panic of 1857 were being sorely felt by the people. The general conditions were adverse, and in many instances really distressing. Yet with a liberality amounting to recklessness, and an inconsideration well nigh criminal, this Legislature conducted its work on a scale of magnificent proportions. It made lavish expenditures and enacted much unwise legislation. The

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 14, 1904. Mr. R. I. Holcombe aided in the preparation of this address, and also read it at this meeting, after introductory remarks by the President.

effect of all this was soon and painfully made manifest, and the people demanded a change.

The election of 1859 for State officers, including members of the Legislature, resulted in a complete victory for the Republicans over the Democrats. Alexander Ramsey was elected governor over our late honored associate, Gen. George L. Becker, by a majority of 3,753, and the other State officers and both branches of the Legislature were Republican. The political canvass of that year had been most spirited. The Democrats were in power in the State and nation, and made the most strenuous endeavors to hold their ground, and especially to control the Legislature, since at its first session many schemes were to be presented for consideration, and there was besides a United States Senator to be elected.

The Republican party was young, but its youth was vigorous and promising. Its members were enthusiastic in their faith and aggressive in their methods to achieve its triumph. The party was fortunate in the selection of the chairman of its State Committee, another of our late associates, Hon. Charles D. Gilfillan. Mr. Gilfillan was not only a very earnest Republican, but a man of great intellect, superior judgment, fine tact, and many other substantial accomplishments. He worked very hard during this campaign, for the opposition had experienced and adroit leaders, but the Democrats lost every contested battle. Every Republican and many Democrats believed that the election and canvass of votes in 1857 (which resulted in the declared election of the Democratic candidates) were fraudulent, and it was Mr. Gilfillan's determination that at the election of 1859 there should be a free vote and an honest count. As a matter of course his political associates seconded his efforts and the result was a great victory. The people seemed especially desirous that a Republican legislature should be chosen to amend and undo the work of the Democrats in the sessions of 1857-8, and Republican members were elected from many Democratic districts.

The Second Legislature convened in the old capitol building at St. Paul, December 7, 1859. The Democratic State officials were still in place, as their terms did not expire until January 2, following. As I have said, both Houses of the Legislature were Republican by a strong majority, and so their officers were Re-

publican. Hon. Amos Coggswell, of Steele county, was elected speaker upon the organization of the House. I was a Republican member of the House, having been elected from St. Paul in the Second representative district. My colleagues from that district were Henry Acker, John B. Olivier, Oscar Stephenson, George Mitsch, and D. A. Robertson. Mr. Acker and myself were the only two Republicans in the House from Ramsey.

Upon the complete organization of the House, I became chairman of the Judiciary Committee. My associates on this committee were William Mitchell, of Winona; George W. Sweet, of Benton; H. E. Mann, of Hennepin; and D. A. Robertson of Ramsey. Of these, Mr. Mitchell was subsequently for many years a judge of the Supreme Court; Mr. Sweet was an old resident of the State, whose wife was of Indian blood; and H. E. Mann was a lawyer of Minneapolis, and at the time a member of the law firm of Cornell and Mann. Subsequently he was clerk of the United States Circuit Court for many years, and removed to St. Paul, where he still resides. Col. D. A. Robertson, of St. Paul, had been bred to the bar, but was not a practicing lawyer. The members of the committee as well as all the other members of the Legislature, with but few exceptions, were comparatively young men; and nearly all were capable, bright, and intelligent, and desirous of doing the State good service.

The situation was, as I have said, most unhappy for the people and the State; and retrenchment and reform in public, as well as in private, affairs were vitally essential. In his message to us the retiring governor, General Sibley, presented the situation and said, "The embarrassed condition of the State finances and impoverished situation of the people imperatively demand retrenchment in expenditures." He knew that the State had afloat nearly $184,000 in scrip and about $250,000 in eight per cent bonds, while there was in the treasury, December 1st, but $1,014.16 in cash. He knew that large sums in taxes were delinquent and could not be collected; that the people were poor, with small resources and smaller incomes. But he also knew that certain expenditures must be made, and that the State, already in favor with home-seekers, must not be allowed to take one backward step in her progress, but must push steadily onward. When, on January 2, 1860, Alexander Ramsey became governor he said

in his inaugural: "A thorough revision of all laws whereby the expenses of town, county, or State governments can be reduced is imperative."

Along these lines, as indicated by the retiring and the new governors, the Legislature, at least the Republican portion, set to work immediately upon its organization. The admonitions of the chief executives were hardly needed. The members themselves knew the situation, and were eager to meet it and improve it. The Republicans had promised the people reforms, and were on their good behavior and trial for the future. The House had a special "Committee on Retrenchment and Reform," designed to point out all dangers to be removed and all benefits to be secured. Of this committee Hon. Henry Acker, of St. Paul, was chairman. As a matter of fact, every member, at least on our side, was a retrencher and reformer. The result was that throughout the entire session the work was done with an eye single to the public welfare. Not a line of class legislation was adopted; no scheme even savoring of graft was countenanced; and amid all of the many bills introduced no "wolf" could find a lair, and no "woodchuck" a burrow.

All of the members worked faithfully and hard, but the labors of the House Judiciary Committee were especially onerous and exacting. I have had the honor to be a member of the Legislature at different times since, and I have never seen so much hard work performed by that body as was accomplished in the second session. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, I was engaged nearly every night of the eighty days of the session until nearly midnight,—often until in the small hours. The other members of the committee were equally as industrious. Mr. Mann frequently labored with us until a very late hour, then walked to his home in Minneapolis, and walked the distance back the following morning in time to be present at the opening of the daily session at ten o'clock. The reason why so much was exacted of our committee was that nearly every bill introduced was at some stage of its progress referred to us for opinion as to its constitutionality. Our reports were invariably adopted, and many unwise and improper measures were disposed of by our adverse recommendations. The Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Jesse Bishop, of Goodhue county, was chairman, and C. C. An-

drews and Lucas K. Stannard the other members, was doubtless equally hard worked.

It is not practicable, in this paper, to do more than summarize the work accomplished by this Legislature. It may be sufficient—as it is the truth—to say that many of the measures which it enacted were virtually original in their character, and the principles they contained were of such force as precedents that they became fairly fundamental. Their influence was immediately beneficial and has always been valuable in its effects upon our State. Only a very few of the laws passed were modified by judicial decisions; and many of them, in word and letter, are yet on the statute books.

Early in the session, December 15, Hon. Morton S. Wilkinson, Republican, was elected U. S. Senator, over and in place of Gen. James Shields, Democrat. Senator Wilkinson was a staunch Free Soiler. He was an intimate personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and brought a letter of indorsement from him when he came to Minnesota. In the first numbers of the "Minnesota Pioneer" Wilkinson's professional card appears, and among his references are the names of "Wm. H. Seward, Auburn, N. Y., and Hon. Abe Lincoln, Springfield, Ill." He made an excellent war senator, always upholding the administration, and at one time, as the personal friend of Lincoln, exposed and defeated a conspiracy to prevent his nomination for re-election.

January 2, 1860, the newly elected Republican governor and the other State officers were duly inaugurated and installed, and then the legislative machinery rolled smoothly, and steadily. Party spirit was very high and constantly running higher. In the Senate, during the December part of the session, some of the Republicans became so incensed over certain rulings of Lieut. Gov. Holcombe, the Democratic presiding officer, that they strove to induce the House to impeach him. Our Judiciary Committee promptly decided, and so reported, that the House had no right to interfere with the business of the Senate, suggesting that our aggrieved brethren, who were largely in the majority, might amend their rules so as to make the lieutenant governor do precisely what they wanted him to do. After January 2, Ignatius Donnelly was lieutenant governor, and only Democrats complained then.

About December 16, the Judiciary Committee of the House brought in a new tax bill, the main principles of which may be said to be still in force. It was a complete substitute for the inadequate measure enacted by the previous Legislature. We entitled it, "An Act to provide for the assessment and taxation of all property in this State, and for levying taxes thereon according to its true value in money." All private property, real and personal, was made subject to taxation, excepting $200 worth of personal property to individuals, and excepting stocks in their ownership which had been already listed by the corporations issuing them. Stringent provisions were made for the collection of taxes without favor to any one. A great deal of care was exercised in framing this bill, and it was believed to be as near perfect as possible. Some of the provisions were opposed by the Democrats, chiefly for partisan reasons, as most of us believed, for they lost no opportunity to criticise the dominant party and to attempt to put us "in a hole."

Early in the session Mr. William Sprigg Hall, a prominent Democratic lawyer of St. Paul, and then a member of the Senate, introduced a series of resolutions strongly denunciatory of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and of all its sympathizers. When the resolutions came before the House, I amended them by adding certain clauses condemning the sentiments of Southern members of Congress in favor of dissolving the Union in the event of the election of a Republican President, declaring that the Union ought never in any contingency to be dissolved; and in the end the resolutions, as amended, were adopted by both Houses.

The Legislature enacted a good practicable road law; a law regulating the business of insurance companies; amended the militia law; provided for the organization of agricultural societies; gave lumbermen a lien for their services on the logs and lumber on which they had worked; provided for the formation of companies for mining, smelting, and manufacturing iron, copper, and other minerals, and to encourage these industries, then not well established, levied no tax on their output. It also enacted a stringent law against bribery, and another prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians. After much discussion of the subject, it refused to abolish capital punishment. It established interest

rates at seven per cent for legal indebtedness, six per cent for judgments of courts, and at not more than twelve per cent by contract between individuals. At that time those who were compelled to borrow money were glad to get it at twelve per cent per annum. The rate had often been two and three per cent per month.

The most rigid economy was prescribed in every detail of the public expenditure. The governor's annual salary was reduced from $2,500 to $1,500; his private secretary was allowed $400; the lieutenant governor's salary was reduced from $1,500 a year to a per diem; the Secretary of State was given $1,200; the Auditor, Treasurer, and Attorney General, $1,000 each; the clerk of the Supreme Court, and the State Librarian, $600 each; the Supreme Court reporter, $500; and the warden of the Penitentiary, $750. Clerk hire in the offices of the Auditor, Secretary of State, and Treasurer, was limited to $600 in each office. The expenditure for fuel and lights for both houses of the Legislature and the other State offices was fixed at $700 per year. At the time, the fuel used was wood, and the lights chiefly candles. The office of prosecuting attorney for each of the several judicial districts was abolished, and county attorneys were substituted. The Legislature created but one new salaried State office, that of Commissioner of Statistics, who was given $75 per month and allowed $510 for printing his reports. The commissioner was Joseph A. Wheelock, now the Nestor of Northwestern journalism.

The First Legislature had established a system of county organization and government, which had proved very unsatisfactory and quite ineffective. The county government was vested in a Board of Supervisors, composed of one member from each civil township, who were to be elected by the people of the respective townships. The results generally were that the Boards comprised a dozen or more members each, and that there were a divergence and a multiplicity of views among them on every question acted upon. The system proved cumbersome, unwieldly, and expensive, and the people became disgusted with it.

The Second Legislature repealed the law of 1858, and enacted another in its stead, creating by its provisions a Board of County Commissioners. In counties where eight hundred votes

or more had been cast at the previous election, five commissioners were to be chosen by the electors of the entire county; and in counties where less than eight hundred votes had been cast, the Board was to consist of three members. In counties where township organizations had been effected, the governor was to appoint the commissioners. The salaries of the commissioners were fixed at $1.50 a day, when actually engaged in their official duties, with six cents mileage for every mile actually traveled in attending sessions. This was the inauguration of the County Commissioners system, which is practically in operation today, and which has always worked so well.

A township organization was effected providing for town clerks, assessors, and supervisors in each civil township. These officers were each to receive $1.50 a day for services actually rendered, but no town supervisor was to receive more than $20 in a single year. This system was well adapted to conditions as they then existed, and proved generally popular for a long period of time.

The general election of 1857, as I have stated, gave great dissatisfaction to the Republicans. They believed that it had been illegally and fraudulently conducted, with the result that the State officers declared elected had not received a fair majority of the legal votes cast. However this may have been—and of course there were two distinct and differing opinions regarding the fact,—the Second Legislature determined to amend the rather loose election law so as to reduce illegal and fraudulent voting to the minimum in extent, and to prevent it altogether if possible. An entirely new law on this subject was enacted. The most important provision of this law was the requirement of a registration by voters. No person not registered could vote. The manner of establishing the eligibility of voters, of counting the vote, of making returns, and many other paragraphs of the law, are actually in the election laws of today. The Australian ballot system was not adopted until thirty years later.

The statutes relating to common schools were amended, and substantially a new system was adopted. The Chancellor of the State University was made ex-officio State Superintendent of the schools, and his duties were prescribed. No county superintendents were to be chosen. Each civil township, at the annual town

meetings, was to choose a town school superintendent, who might grant teachers' certificates, which were to be valid only in his town. Teachers' certificates from the chairman and secretary of the State Normal School at Winona were to be valid throughout the State. Township superintendents were to be paid by the town supervisors. This law was good only for the time and the prevailing conditions. The present system, in the then sparsely settled condition of many of the counties, was not practicable.

This Legislature passed a new law for the government and regulation of the State University. By its provisions the foundations of the institution were securely laid and its future upbuilding provided for. Its affairs were to be managed and controlled by a Board of Regents, to consist of the governor, lieutenant governor, the chancellor, and five other members, to be appointed by the governor. One section of the act read: "The University shall never be under the control of any religious denomination." No sales of lands belonging to the University were allowed unless ordered by the Board of Regents. When sales were made, the surplus income arising therefrom was to be invested in United States securities or other well established interest-bearing stocks, as a fund for defraying the current expenses of the institution. The chancellor's term of office was to be that of a district judge of the state, and the Legislature was to fix his compensation. The chancellor then in office was the late Rev. Dr. Edward D. Neill.

The Legislature of 1858 had provided for establishing three state normal schools, one to be built every five years, upon the donation of $5,000 in money or lands. There was no imperative or immediate need of these schools, and in view of the general adverse conditions, the limited resources of the state and of its people, it was then practically impossible to provide for them. So the Second Legislature suspended the act on the subject for five years. It was expressly provided, however, that this suspension should not apply to the normal school at Winona, which was already established.

In order to erect the necessary buildings for the Winona Normal, the Board of Directors of that school was empowered to sell all the property that the state had donated to the institution, except so much as might be necessary for other aids to its completion.

The particular attention of the Second Legislature was from the first to the last day of the session directed to the condition of the projected railroads in the state. Under the land grants and the Five Million Loan bill, the grading of certain roads had been commenced a year and more previously. Detached pieces of grading had been made on different lines, when the constructing companies became wholly unable to procure funds to prosecute their work, and it was stopped. The State issued its bonds only upon completed work, and the companies seemed powerless to go ahead. There was great dissatisfaction, amounting to indignation, among the people at this unhappy and damaging condition of affairs. They greatly desired and needed railroads, but the companies with franchises to build them were practically bankrupt and powerless; and the incomplete condition of their roads, and the loan bill, the bonds, etc., constituted menaces and obstacles to the building of other roads by other companies.

There was a wellnigh universal demand that all further aid to the railroads already projected be withheld and refused. The Legislature was compelled to act. The State had issued to the railroad companies its seven per cent bonds to the amount of $2,275,000, and less than fifty miles of grading had been done. The situation was intolerable. After many protracted and spirited discussions of the subject, a joint committee of both Houses reported in favor of a most heroic remedy. Dr. J. H. Stewart, of St. Paul, was chairman of the Senate Committee, and G. K. Cleveland was at the head of the Committee of the House. On the lines of this report, the Legislature, by a concurrent resolution of both houses, submitted to the people an amendment to the State Constitution regarding tax levies, with this important reservation:

> But no law levying a tax or making other provisions for the payment of the interest or principal of the bonds denominated "Minnesota State Railroad Bonds" shall take effect or be in force until such law shall have been submitted to a vote of the people of the State, and adopted by a majority of the electors of the State voting upon the same.

Another amendment to Section 10 of Article 9 of the Constitution was also proposed to the people for their ratification or rejection, and this amendment read:

The credit of the State shall never be given or loaned in aid of any individual, association, or corporation; nor shall there be any further issue of bonds denominated "Minnesota Railroad Bonds" under what purports to be an amendment to Section 10, Article 9, of this Constitution adopted April 15, 1858, which is hereby expunged from the Constitution, saving, excepting and reserving to the State, nevertheless, all rights, remedies, and forfeitures accruing under said amendment.

The land grant railroad companies, as security for the State bonds which they had received, had issued and delivered to the State *their* bonds, which were secured by deeds of trust on the lands donated them. Default had been made in the payment of interest on these bonds, and the trustees under the trust deeds had failed to foreclose on them, as they were directed to do. The Legislature, therefore, empowered the governor to foreclose them and to bid them in for the State upon their sale. Subsequently this action was taken by the chief executive in many instances.

Both of the proposed amendments to the Constitution were adopted by the people at the presidential election in 1860, by an overwhelming majority. The vote in favor of the expunging amendment was 19,308; against, 710. After about twenty years of discussion on the subject, a compromise was effected with the holders of the bonds, and they were paid fifty cents on the dollar on their claims. The action of the Legislature and the people in the so-called repudiation of the bonds apparently never impaired the credit of the State in the slightest degree. Two years after the legislature adjourned, work on the old St. Paul and Pacific railroad was commenced, and the same year it was completed between the capital and St. Anthony. Nearly all the main lines now in the state were projected and a great portion of them built before the alleged "stain of repudiation" was removed. Railroad-building was carried on in Minnesota during the dark days of the War of the Rebellion, while it was wholly suspended in other Northwestern states.

In pursuance of its policy of rigid retrenchment and economy, the Legislature reformed the composition of that body itself. Under the apportionment made by the First Legislature, the House was composed of 80 and the Senate of 39 members, a total of 119. By a new apportionment the Second Legislature reduced the total membership to 63, or 21 in the Senate and 42

in the House, a total reduction of 56 members. At the same time legislative sessions were reduced to sixty days for regular sessions, and thirty days for special sessions. This reform was effected by the force of an act providing that members should not be paid for a longer time. The First Legislature, including the adjourned session from July 2 to August 12, 1858, had met for about 150 days. The second was in session for 80 days.

One very practical result of this Legislature's work was a great reduction of the State's expenses. As shown by the reports still of record, the expenditures for 1859 had been about $281,400, leaving, as I have said, a balance in the treasury subject to draft of $1,014.16. The total disbursements from the State treasury from December 1, 1859, to January 1, 1861,—thirteen months—was $138,846.84. The reduction in the State's expenses in 1860 over those of 1859 was thus about $142,500, a very large sum at that time under all the circumstances. In 1860 there were probably not in the State twenty men worth $50,000 each.

By a joint resolution of both houses, originally introduced by Senator C. C. Andrews, the State's representatives in Congress were instructed to vote for a national homestead law, which would give to each actual settler, after an occupation of five years, 160 acres of the public land. A little more than a year thereafter the homestead law was enacted.

Another joint resolution demanded the removal of the Winnebago Indians from the State, and the opening to white settlement of their reservation in Blue Earth county. The removal was not effected, however, until in 1863.

A memorial to Congress asked for the acquisition, by treaty with the Chippewas, of the lower part of the Red River valley, and the opening of the territory acquired to settlement. The treaty was made on the part of the government by Governor Ramsey in 1863, and the adoption of the memorial referred to was the first authoritative and important action taken in the matter.

Another memorial to Congress, introduced by Representative William Nettleton, was adopted, asking for the establishment of lighthouses at "Beaver Bay, the Grand Portage, and the mouth of the Pigeon river," all on the Minnesota coast of lake Superior.

No lighthouses had been erected in that quarter before that time. The memorial recited that during the season of 1859 "four steamboats had made regular trips" to the Minnesota ports named, and that "more than forty sailing crafts" had been engaged in fishing and coasting. It was further stated that the prospects were that this commerce would be increased, because of the important and significant fact that the abundant evidences of the existence of valuable mines and mineral deposits along and near the lake was already engaging the attention of immigrants and capitalists.

It may with propriety be said by one of its humblest members that the personnel of the Second Legislature was of high order. Almost without exception, the members were men of intelligence, character, and righteous purpose. Their work was performed under the influence of unselfish and patriotic impulses. In after years they exemplified their dispositions by right living, by conspicuous and valuable public service, and by heroic and gallant endeavor on the battlefield. Some of them became members of Congress; others held judicial, diplomatic, and other responsible positions under the Federal and State authority. In the War of the Rebellion, many served with high rank and distinction, some coming out of that conflict with the stars of a general, while others gave their blood and their lives that the Union might live and not die.

Of the members of the Senate, Dr. Jacob H. Stewart was surgeon of the First Minnesota regiment, and subsequently mayor of St. Paul for two or three terms and member of Congress. Michael Cook became major of the Tenth Minnesota, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Nashville. Robert N. McLaren was colonel of the Second Minnesota Cavalry, and was brevetted brigadier general; after the war he was collector of internal revenue, United States marshal, etc. John T. Averill was lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Minnesota, and was brevetted a brigadier; and after the war he served four years in Congress. Henry C. Rogers became lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Minnesota, and died from wounds received in the "Battle of the Cedars," near Murfreesboro, Tenn. Alonzo J. Edgerton was a captain in the Tenth Minnesota, and colonel of a regiment of

colored troops; and after the war he was a judge of the United States District Court, U. S. senator from Minnesota, and governor of South Dakota. Christopher C. Andrews became colonel of the Third Minnesota, and was promoted to brigadier and brevet major general, and in time of peace represented the government as minister to Sweden and consul general to Brazil. Oscar Taylor was a captain in the Minnesota Mounted Rangers. John H. Stevens was always a prominent and useful citizen and one of our best associates.

Of the House, John B. Sanborn was colonel of the Fourth Minnesota regiment, and became a brevet major general. Dr. Moody C. Tolman was a surgeon of the Second Minnesota regiment. William Mitchell served nineteen years on our Supreme Bench, and was an able and eminent jurist. William Pfaender was a lieutenant in the First Minnesota Battery at Shiloh, became a lieutenant colonel of one of our cavalry regiments, and after the war served two years as State Treasurer. John B. Olivier was a good soldier in the Eighth Minnesota regiment.

But for the disastrous fact that the year after its adjournment the War of the Rebellion came, the valuable work of the Legislature of 1860 would have been more apparent. As the condition was, however, the work was serviceable, for the State was able to meet the emergencies thrust upon it, which it would have been sorely pressed to do had the over-liberal, if not reckless and extravagant, policy of the First Legislature been continued by the Second.

The great value of the work of the Legislature of 1860 was that it established sound and safe policies for the government of the commonwealth, which, in the main, have ever since been followed. Its actions have often served as precedents and been cited as proper models by subsequent Legislatures. The result is that Minnesota, after the most bountiful expenditures in aid of her institutions and her people, is, and for a long time has been, in a most enviable condition financially, meeting all demands upon her treasury at maturity.

The progress and development of the State have been unexampled. No other State in the Union has such a record in these respects. In forty years, or from 1860 to 1900, our popu-

lation increased from 172,000 to 1,751,000; the taxable value of property from about $30,000,000 to $786,869,809; and the number of miles of railway from none to 7,000. An important factor in the promotion of this admirable condition has been the system of laws under which we have lived and whose foundation was laid by the Second Legislature. The labors of the session were performed with the single purpose of promoting the public welfare, not alone for the then present, but for the future, and the consummation was most happy. A valuable and glorious ending crowned a season of hard and faithful work.

THE OLD GOVERNMENT MILLS AT THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.

By Courtesy of Edward A. Bromley, from his "Photographic History of Early Days in Minneapolis" (1890).

THE OLD GOVERNMENT MILLS AT THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.*

BY EDWARD A. BROMLEY.

The world-famed milling industries of Minneapolis had their beginning at the same time with the building of Fort Snelling. These first mills in our territory were a familiar sight to many of our people who are yet living; but already a cloud of doubt has arisen as to the exact dates of their erection, and whether there was originally one mill or two.

In Atwater's History of Minneapolis (1893), on pages 535 and 536, Hon. James T. Wyman expressed the view, which the writer of the present paper also formerly entertained,† that only one mill was erected by the United States troops at the Falls of St. Anthony before the completion of Fort Snelling; that this, commonly called the Government Mill, was a small stone building, used as a grist mill from 1822 to 1830; and that at the latter date a saw mill was built there.

The different view, that two separate mills were built by the government at about the same time, in 1821 to 1823, has been found to be correct, as I now think, after careful inquiry and research. Mr. Rufus J. Baldwin gave a good picture of the old mills, from a daguerreotype or photograph taken about the year 1857, in Atwater's History of Minneapolis, on page 22; but, though the picture shows the two mills, his description indicates only one, used originally for sawing lumber, and two years later fitted up as a grist mill. Baldwin seems to have accepted the statement given by Dr. Neill, a dozen years before, in the History of Hennepin County. The object of this paper is to pre-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 14, 1904.

†Descriptive text accompanying "Early Scenes in Minneapolis," published in 1903.

sent the reasons for my conclusion, that two mills were built here thus early, and to narrate concisely the origin and history of this prelude to our state's vast wealth of lumber and flour manufacturing.

Coincident with the erection of a permanent post at Fort Snelling, the soldiers of the Fifth Infantry, who were performing all the labor on that structure, built on the west bank of the Mississippi river, at these falls, as seems now to be well ascertained, both a saw mill and a flour mill. That historic spot is now the center of the great milling district of Minneapolis.

The first of these mills was put up in 1821, and was equipped with a quick acting upright saw, known among lumbermen as a muley-saw. The other was built and fitted up in 1823 with one run of stone (French buhrs) and other simple appliances for making flour, according to the primitive methods then in vogue.

The flour mill was about 16 or 18 feet square, and the saw mill is said to have measured about 50 by 70 feet. The first estimate is from my personal examination of the foundation walls, which I made in 1879, when the last vestige of the two structures was removed; and the other is given by George E. Huey, who operated the saw mill from 1852 to 1855. The well known picture, however, indicates a considerably smaller size for the saw mill.

Fortunately an authentic account, written by an eye witness of the building of the saw mill, is obtainable at this time. The narrator was Philander Prescott, the well known Indian trader, and was written by him at the suggestion of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1861, about one year prior to his tragic death at the hands of the Sioux Indians at the Lower Sioux Agency on the Minnesota river, in the outbreak of 1862. It was published in Volume VI of this Society's Collections.

Prescott came to the fort in 1819 as a clerk to Mr. Devotion, the Indian trader, while the troops were still in the original log cantonment on the Mendota side of the Minnesota river. Some years later Prescott took to himself an Indian wife, and began trading with the Sioux on his own account, establishing himself at "Land's End," about two miles above the fort, on the west bank of the Minnesota river. His first home was located just outside the walls of Fort Snelling on the bank of this river, and his

second on the military road between Minnehaha Falls and St. Anthony Falls, about one mile from the former. This house, built about 1850, is still standing. He traded extensively with the Sioux Indians and was frequently absent from home, looking after his interests in their camps or at the trading posts. While on one of these expeditions, awaiting the arrival of annuity funds, which were to be paid by the government to the Sioux at the Lower Agency, near Redwood Falls, Minnesota, he met his death on August 18, 1862, being one of the first persons killed by the savages in the general massacre which began there and spread over the southwestern part of the state.

That part of Prescott's narrative which relates to the old saw mill is as follows:

In the summer of 1820 there was not much done towards the building of the fort. The physician and commanding officer thought the location [on the bottomland at the riverside] an unhealthful one, and moved all the troops over to some springs called "Camp Coldwater," nearly a mile above the present fort, on the Mississippi river . . . . a site was selected by the commanding officer on the first rise, about 300 yards west of the present fort, and some timber was hauled to the spot. As the fort was to be built of hewed logs, it would require a large amount of boards for so large a fort. An examination of the Little Falls (Minnehaha) was made, and it was thought there was not water enough for a mill, as the water was very low in the summer of 1820, and St. Anthony was selected. An officer and some men had been sent up the river to examine the pine and see if it could be got to the river by hand. The party returned and made a favorable report, and in the winter [1820-1] a party was sent out to cut pine logs, and to raft them down in the spring, and they brought down about 2,000 logs by hand. Some ten or fifteen men would haul one log on a sled from one-fourth to one-half a mile, and lay it upon the bank of Rum river, and in the spring they were rolled into the river and floated down to the mouth and then made into small rafts and floated to the present landing above the bridge. [The landing referred to was later Captain John Tapper's ferry landing, near the present steel arch bridge in Minneapolis.]

. . . . The plans for the fort had been prepared [by Lt. Col. Leavenworth] . . . but were somewhat altered by Col. Snelling, the officer succeeding, and the location was moved from the point that Col. Leavenworth selected to the present location, and the saw mill was commenced in the fall and winter of 1820-21 and finished in 1822, and a large quantity of lumber was made for the whole fort, and all the furniture and outbuildings, and all the logs were brought to the mill or the landing by hand, and hauled from the landing to the mill, and from the mill to the fort by teams. An officer by the name of Lieut. Croozer [William E. Kruger is the officer re-

ferred to] lived and had charge of the mill party . . . the troops passed the summer at Camp Coldwater, and in the fall moved back again to the old cantonment and passed the winter, and got out timber for the soldiers' barracks, and before the autumn of 1823 nearly all the soldiers had been got into quarters, and considerable work had been done on the officers' quarters.

Mr. Daniel Stanchfield confirms Prescott's statement that the pine timber used in the fort was cut near Rum river. In 1847 and 1848 he examined these pineries, and in Volume IX of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, page 342, he wrote:

On a tributary which enters this river from the northeast about four miles north of the present town of Cambridge, I found a small lake and good white pine on every side. This was afterward called Lower Stanchfield brook. I logged there two years, which was the first lumbering upon a large scale on Rum river.

A part of the lumber for building Fort Snelling, however, had been cut on the same lake; for we found on its shore the remains of an old logging camp that had been there many years. In its vicinity pine trees had been cut and taken away, and the stumps had partially decayed. Logging had also been done at the same early date in the Dutchman's grove, where my party in the autumn of 1847 got the logs designed for building the St. Anthony dam. This grove was on the southwest side of the river, about midway between the Lower and Upper Stanchfield brooks, which come from the opposite side.

The first printed reference, so far as known, to two mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, is furnished by Prof. William H. Keating, who, as the historian of the party, accompanied Major Stephen H. Long's expedition up the Mississippi river in 1823. After telling how the party waded over on the limestone river bed, close above the brink of the falls, to the island, and then returned, he says: "Two mills have been erected for the use of the garrison, and a sergeant's guard is kept here at all times. On our return from the island we recruited our strength with a copious and palatable meal prepared for us by the old sergeant."

Every traveler who wrote of the portage of the falls, prior to the incoming of the settlers, almost invariably mentioned the mills there, after indulging in praises of the mighty cataract. But frequently only one mill was so mentioned.

Beltrami, in his "Pilgrimage," published in London in 1828, says, in Volume II, page 206: "A mill and a few little cottages,

built by the colonel for the use of the garrison, and the surrounding country adorned with romantic scenes, complete the magnificent picture." Again on his return, at the end of his long journey from Pembina, he wrote of his coming to the Falls of St. Anthony: "The strength of the current hurried forward our canoe with alarming rapidity; and at length I discerned between the trees, and in a pleasant background, the roof of a house, indicating of course civilized habitation. This was the mill for the garrison at the fort."

Corroborative evidence of the existence of two mills at the falls is furnished by Colonel John H. Bliss, whose father was commander at Fort Snelling from 1833 to 1836. In his "Reminiscences of Fort Snelling," which can be found in Volume VI of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, he says, on page 339:

> The Falls of Saint Anthony, too, were picturesque; the government had a little muley saw-mill there, and a small grist-mill, for grinding corn, all, of course, for the use of the garrison; there, too, was kept our supply of beef cattle. All this necessitated the erection of a comfortable building for the sergeant and eight or ten men who had charge of things, and this was all there then was of the splendid city of Minneapolis. We used occasionally to have picnics there, and drove out a few times of a winter night, had a hot supper and a whisky punch, and back to the Fort again, with the coyotes howling about us, but rarely in sight.

On page 346 he makes another reference to the mills as follows:

> One day word was brought to the Fort that they [the Indians] had burned the mills at the Falls of Saint Anthony and murdered the men in charge. A strong force was at once dispatched there, and everything about the Fort put in defensible shape. When the detachment reached the mills they were found uninjured, and the men quietly pursiung their avocations without the slightest suspicion that they had been tomahawked and scalped.

On pages 347 and 348 is another reference:

> To the best of my recollection, it was in the spring of 1833 that two brothers named Pond wandered that way. They said they had come to devote themselves to the welfare of the Indians, and I believe they did this to the full extent and limit of their abilities. They were earnest workers, with no nonsense about them. My father supplied them, from the saw-mill, with the necessary lumber for a neat, comfortable, two-roomed little house, and in conjunction with Major Taliaferro [the Indian agent], aided them in their start at housekeeping on the shore of Lake Calhoun, a short distance from the Indian village.

Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve, in her delightful book of a comparatively recent date, "Three Score Years and Ten," says, on page 42:

> How sweet those berries were, and how delicious the fish which we caught in the pretty Lakes Calhoun and Harriet, the one named for the great statesman, the other for Mrs. Leavenworth. We generally carried our treasures from field and lake to the "old Government Mill" at the "Big Falls" St. Anthony and had our feast prepared and set in order by the miller's wife.

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, in his entertaining book, "Mary and I, Forty Years with the Sioux," published in 1880, referring to a trip which he and his wife had made in 1837 from Fort Snelling, where they were temporarily residing, to the mill, says, on page 24: "And so, we harnessed up a horse and cart, and had a pleasant ride across the prairie to the government saw-mill, which, with a small dwelling for the soldier occupant, was then the only sign of civilization on the present site of Minneapolis."

Dr. Edward D. Neill, in the History of Hennepin County (1881), on pages 94 and 95, mentions a memorandum from the books of the U. S. A. Commissary Department, at Washington, showing that the flour mill at the falls of St. Anthony was fitted up in 1823, after having been used, as he supposed, for two years in sawing lumber, the date when it was built being 1821. Under date of August 5, 1823, as Dr. Neill says, General Gibson wrote to Lieutenant Clark, Commissary at Fort Snelling, as follows: "From a letter addressed by Col. Snelling to the Quartermaster General, dated the 2d of April, I learn that a large quantity of wheat would be raised this summer. The assistant Commissary of Subsistence at St. Louis has been instructed to forward sickles and a pair of millstones to St. Peters. If any flour is manufactured from the wheat raised, be pleased to let me know. . . ." The memorandum was for the following items:

One pair buhr millstones	$250.11
337 pounds plaster of Paris	20.22
Two dozen sickles	18.00
Total	$288.33

Rev. William T. Boutwell, the historian accompaning Schoolcraft to "the tribes near the source of the Mississippi river," in

1832, recorded in his journal (published in Volume I of this Society's Collections), under date of July 25 of that year, the following reference to the government mills.

> Embarked at five this morning, and marched till twelve, when we reached the falls of St. Anthony, nine miles above the mouth of the St. Peter's. Our government have here a saw-mill and grist-mill on the west bank of the Mississippi, and also have a large farm. The soldiers are here cutting hay. For beauty, the country around exceeds all that I can say.

Gen. R. W. Johnson, who served at Fort Snelling for several years subsequent to 1849, contributed his mite to the mill story, in this Society's Volume VIII, as follows: "A saw mill was established at the Falls of St. Anthony, where was manufactured all the lumber used in the construction of the fort." Some of the old buildings of the fort, however, when recently torn down, were found to be built largely with hewn timber for framing, while much of their plank and board lumber was evidently sawn by hand with whip-saws, familiar to frontier settlers. It is thus known that the pine timber from Rum river, sawn at the government mill, was only a part of the material used for building the fort, and that other lumber, as of oak, elm, etc., from the woods along the rivers and uplands near the fort, was also supplied by the ax and whip-saw.

On page 95, of Volume VI, of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, in "Early Days at Red River Settlement, and Fort Snelling," Mrs. Ann Adams wrote of the unsuccessful efforts made by the commanding officer of the fort to manufacture flour in the government mill, as follows:

> Fort Snelling was not, at that time [1823], completely finished, but was occupied. Col. Snelling had sowed some wheat that season, and had it ground at a mill which the government had built at the falls, but the wheat had become mouldy, or sprouted, and made wretched, black, bitter tasting bread. This was issued to the troops, who got mad because they could not eat it, and brought it to the parade ground and threw it down there. Col. Snelling came out and remonstrated with them. There was much inconvenience that winter (1823-24) about the scarcity of provisions.

The government authorities ran the grist mill in a desultory way until 1849, when the property was purchased by Hon. Robert Smith, of Illinois, for $750. He rented the grist mill to Cal-

vin A. Tuttle, who operated it until about 1855. His advertisement, soliciting business, appeared in the St. Anthony Express of the date of May 31, 1851, as follows:

GRINDING.

The undersigned is now in readiness for grinding Corn, Rye, Oats, Peas, Buckwheat, and whatever else requires grinding, including Salt, at the grist-mill on the west side of the Mississippi river at St. Anthony, for lawful rates of toll. When desired, grists will be received at the subscriber's on the east side of the river, and be returned ground at the same place.

CALVIN A. TUTTLE.

The following quotation is from the St. Paul Pioneer of February 13, 1850:

The Government mill on the west side of the falls of St. Anthony, mentioned in Mr. Neill's historical address, is still there in a dilapidated condition, in charge of Mr. Bean, who is living there as a tenant of the honorable Robert Smith. It is the same mill in which the Grand Jury of this county held the first inquest last summer.

The address referred to was delivered before the Minnesota Historical Society, January 1, 1850. The reference to the mills is given in a supplement of this address, published in the Pioneer of February 13, 1850, as follows: "A quarter of a century ago, the United States had two mills in operation here, which were watched by a sergeant's guard."

A week later, the Pioneer of February 20, 1850, devoted a column to an editorial description of St. Anthony, from which the following is an extract:

The bluff . . . commands a beautiful view of the opposite shore, where is situated the grist mill, now in operation, built by the U. S. government. This mill is under the superintendence of the Hon. Robert Smith, in charge of Mr. Bean; 4,000 bushels of corn have been ground at this mill during the present season for the Indian trade and inhabitants of Minnesota, and about the same quantity remains to be ground; there is a saw mill, in connection with this mill, which is undergoing repairs and will be in operation in the spring. It is situated on the west side of the river and nearly opposite the Co. Mill. . . . .

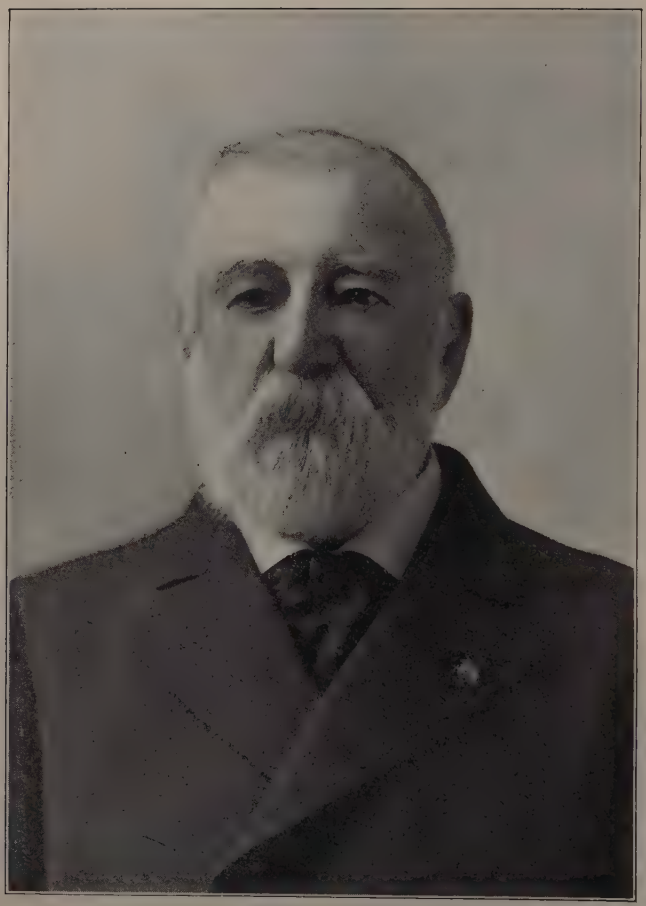
August 20, 1849, Judge Bradley B. Meeker, associate judge of the Supreme Court of Minnesota Territory, held the first term of court for the second judicial district in one of these old

government mills at the Falls of St. Anthony. Franklin Steele was foreman of the jury; and James M. Goodhue, editor of the St. Paul Pioneer, was one of the jurors. No business was transacted, but Goodhue's appreciation of the dinner served by Reuben Bean inspired an editorial in the next issue of his paper.

The subsequent history of the old mills is soon told. The "town site company," so called, of which Robert Smith was the president, fitted up the saw mill, and, under the personal direction of George E. Huey, operated it until 1855. The St. Anthony Express, February 18, 1854, contributed the following item: "It is said that Messrs. George E. Huey & Co., proprietors of the Minneapolis Mills, have added another saw to their mill. They have been quite successful in clearing the falls from pine logs." This saw mill was leased in 1855 to Leonard Day. After he had run it for about two years, it was sold to Thomas H. Perkins and Smith Ferrand, and was operated by them as a grist mill until 1862, when Perkins and Crocker bought it. They named it the City Mill.

In 1866, as Hon. James T. Wyman relates, the City Mill was sold to J. C. Berry and Co., who changed it into a merchant mill and operated it until 1875, when they sold it to Solon Armstrong and Co. This company ran it, producing a good quality of flour by the old method, until 1879, when it was destroyed by fire. Its destruction made the building of the Northwestern Flour Mill, by Sidle, Fletcher and Holmes, possible; and that mill occupies today the site of the old government saw mill.

The grist mill, which was situated about fifty feet to the rear and east of the saw mill, had been torn down within a few years after the lease to Mr. Day was made. When the Minneapolis paper mill was erected in 1866, at the foot of Seventh Avenue South, half of the site of the old government mill was occupied by that structure; and when the Northwestern Flour Mill was built, in 1879, all traces of these old landmarks disappeared.



E. W. Durant

LUMBERING AND STEAMBOATING ON THE ST. CROIX RIVER.*

BY CAPTAIN EDWARD W. DURANT.

The magnitude of the lumber industry of the St. Croix valley is almost beyond the comprehension of anyone who has not applied himself to a thorough study of the subject from every standpoint. Even the primitive logger of pioneer days had only a poor idea of the almost limitless timber resources of the district. As he plodded along farther and farther from the St. Croix, he beheld vast tracts of standing pine, but little did he realize that billions upon billions of timber would float down the St. Croix and its tributaries before the entire output should be exhausted, and that thousands upon thousands of men would for more than fifty years be engaged in preparing it for the market.

Except in small tracts, little remains of the gigantic forests, the woodsman's axe and sweeping fires having devastated them; and many thousands of acres of land, formerly covered with a thick growth of timber, have been transformed into beautiful farms, so that only history and memory remain as reminders of former conditions.

The lumber district of the St. Croix valley extends from township 29 north to township 49 north, and from range 5 west to range 26 west. The south line begins near Hudson, Wis., and extends north to the line of the Northern Pacific railway. The east and west line begins at range 5 west, near lake Namekagon and runs west to range 26 west, to the tributaries of Snake river. The shape of the district is that of a huge fan. The district covers eight thousand five hundred square miles, comprising five million four hundred and forty thousand acres, the major portion

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 11, 1904.

of which was originally covered with a heavy growth of white and Norway pine timber.

The St. Croix lumber district is traversed by the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha railway, from St. Paul and Minneapolis to Duluth, Superior, Washburn, and Ashland; the Northern Pacific railway from St. Paul and Minneapolis to Stillwater, to Taylor's Falls, Grantsburg, Duluth, Superior, and Ashland; the Great Northern railway, via the Eastern Minnesota line, from St. Paul and Minneapolis to Duluth and Superior; the Soo railway from St. Paul and Minneapolis, through the southern portion; and the Wisconsin Central through the extreme lower portion.

One of the important factors of the lumber business has been the lowering of freight rates on lumbermen's supplies. In the good old times, the hauling of supplies to the camps was a most expensive item. Then the cost was two dollars per hundred pounds. The rates for ten years past, by rail, have been from 25 to 40 cents per hundred pounds. In the days of high freights logs sold in Stillwater at $6 to $9 per thousand feet. During the past year lumbermen have paid higher prices for standing timber than the logs sold for at Stillwater some years ago. At this writing logs vastly inferior in quality sell for $15 to $20 per thousand feet.

In the early days the lumbermen would sometimes wait until midwinter for snow to haul logs, a load consisting of from two to five thousand feet, over a road from one to three miles in length. How great the change at this later day! Only cold weather is requisite for successful work. The logging road is cut wide and straight, two grooves are cut, and an ice track is formed with the early freezing. Although the logging road may be from five to ten miles in length, loads of logs measuring from 10,000 to 25,000 feet are hauled as a usual thing. For the past five years snow has ceased to be an important factor for hauling logs.

The early history of lumbering has been a history of waste in all lumber districts. Probably the natural wasteage of timber incidental to the early history of cutting logs, supplemented by the terrific forest fires that always follow in the wake of the lumberman's axe, nearly if not quite equalled the quantity brought to market. 'Tis the same old story, "Plenty breeds waste."

Although the pine timber has been cut and large areas of land have been swept by fire, the land itself has not suffered any deterioration. Scattered throughout this vast area, the camp and so-called hovel of the lumberman have disappeared, and the house and barn have taken the places they occupied; the plow and harrow have been substituted for the axe and peevy; and the thoroughbred bull has taken the place of the cant-hook. Agriculture is soon to become the paramount interest. The retreating footsteps of the lumbermen are being retraced by men and families seeking homes along the beautiful streams and lakes that thread what was once a magnificent forest of pine in both Minnesota and Wisconsin.

THE RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.

Beyond any question the lumber district of the St. Croix possessed advantages unknown in any other lumbering locality. The lake and river St. Croix are for many miles the dividing line between the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin. The river St. Croix is the great artery fed by numerous tributaries taking rise in each state. Beginning at Hudson, Wis., the first tributary is Willow river, a large lumber stream. Next, six miles above Stillwater, is Apple river, an important Wisconsin stream. Then come Wood river, Clam river, Yellow river, Loon creek; then the famous Namekagon river, with all its tributaries, noted as logging streams, namely, the Totogatic and Totogatic Oonce, Hay Creek, Chippenazy, Bean brook, Potato creek, Mosquito brook, and Big and Little Pucway Oonce; and, highest of the eastern tributaries, the Eau Claire river and lakes. The beautiful Upper St. Croix lake, on the main stream a few miles below its farthest springs, lies near the watershed of the Great Lakes and the St. Croix. Moose river, noted for the superiority of its timber, Crotty brook, Rocky brook, and Chase's brook, join the St. Croix in Wisconsin from its northwest side, as one descends from the upper lake.

On the Minnesota side of the St. Croix we have the Sunrise river as its lowest important tributary. About twenty miles farther up is the long and tortuous Kanabec or Snake river, with its numerous tributaries, namely Ground House, Ann, and Knife

rivers, Snowshoe brook, Hay creek, Chesley brook, and Pokegama and Mission creeks. This stream has furnished a greater quantity of logs than any other stream of the district. Kettle river, beautiful with its falls, rocks, and rapids, has been an important lumber stream, with its tributaries, Grindstone, Pine, Split Rock, Dead Moose, Moose Horn, Moose, and Willow rivers, with numerous other small streams meandering through the pine forests of this region. Sand creek, a slight thread of water, with an area of magnificent forest, has produced a greater number of logs than any similar sized stream tributary to the St. Croix. In the eastern part of Pine county are the Big and Little Tamarack rivers, Spruce river, and other small but important logging streams.

Probably the David Tozer timber tract, on the Tamarack river, is one of the largest tracts of uncut timber now on the St. Croix waters.

The state boundary line crosses the St. Croix in the southwest corner of township 42, range 15. The log supply of this district is about equally divided between the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

FIRST STEPS IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY.

The first logs cut were by Joseph R. Brown on the Taylor's Falls flat in the winter of 1836 and 1837. The first regular outfit was that of John Boyce, who came with a Mackinaw boat from St. Louis with eleven men and six oxen, late in the fall of 1837. He located a camp at the mouth of the Kanabec or Snake river. A quantity of logs were cut, but trouble with the Indians, coupled with many difficulties in driving the winter cut of logs, discouraged Mr. Boyce to the extent that he abruptly closed his unsuccessful venture.

In the spring of 1838, Franklin Steele formed a copartnership with Messrs. Fitch of Muscatine, Iowa, Libby of Alton, Illinois, Hungerford and Livingston of St. Louis, Mo., and Hill and Holcomb of Quincy, Illinois. This company chartered the steamer Palmyra, loaded the boat with sawmill machinery, secured a corps of mechanics, and began operations toward building a sawmill at the Falls of the St. Croix river, in the state of Wis-

consin. The plans and operations of this company were beset by many and serious difficulties, yet they opened the lumber trade of the St. Croix valley, and, for a number of years, supplied the building material to the inhabitants of the states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri, bordering on the Mississippi river, between the St. Croix river and St. Louis.

The first rafts of lumber and logs taken from the St. Croix lumber district were owned and sent to market by this St. Croix Falls Lumber Company. Up to the spring of 1843 the shipments of this company consisted solely of sawed lumber, lath, and shingles. The high water of that spring caused the company's boom to give way, and the entire stock of logs was carried down the St. Croix river. The men who had worked in the woods followed the logs to Stillwater. John McKusick was placed in charge of the logs and collected enough to make four rafts of five hundred thousand feet each. Two of the rafts were placed in charge of Stephen B. Hanks, who can justly lay claim to being the first man to pilot a raft of logs from the St. Croix river to St. Louis. Mr. Hanks employed Severe Bruce to run one of the rafts in his charge. One raft was in charge of James McPhail, and one raft was in charge of William Ganley. The logs were sold to West & Vandeventer and a portion of them to Clark & Child. The Mr. Clark referred to is W. G. Clark, who continued in the sawmill business for many years and is now a resident of Stillwater.

The breaking of a log boom at the time mentioned was a serious drawback to the lumber interest of the St. Croix valley, yet it was the beginning of a commerce aggregating many millions of dollars. It marked a new era. The first four rafts that passed down the St. Croix and Mississippi were the advance guard of many thousand that have followed them during two-thirds of a century since the industry was inaugurated.

THE EARLY SAWMILLS.

After disposing of his share of the logs above mentioned, John McKusick purchased, with the proceeds, a full outfit of machinery for an overshot water-wheel mill to be erected at a site which is now the city of Stillwater. On his return from St.

Louis he associated himself with Elias McKean, Elam Greeley, Jacob Fisher, and Calvin F. Leach. They formed a copartnership, and proceeded to build a sawmill. The mill began sawing lumber April 3, 1844. It was managed successfully for twenty years, when the two up and down saws, "The fiddler and the dancing master," gave way to more improved methods and machinery. The site of this mill is one thousand feet inland from the former log way.

The first St. Croix sawmill was built and in operation in 1838 at Marine. The site was selected, and the mill was built and began sawing, within a space of ninety days. The Marine Lumber Company consisted of Lewis George, Albert Judd, Orange Walker, Asa Parker, Samuel Burkleo, and Hiram Berkey. This mill continued in operation for over fifty years, and during the last ten years of its existence was managed by the late firm of Anderson & O'Brien.

Connected with this mill is a reminiscence that is of interest to the citizens of our capital city. In the winter of 1840 and 1841, the citizens of St. Paul decided to build a Catholic church. The plans and specifications were placed in the hands of Joseph Labissonniere. They contemplated a structure 18 feet in width, and 24 feet in length; height of the sides, 10 feet; the roof to overhang two feet and to be made of Norway pine slabs, 12 inches in width, each slab to be fastened by six wooden pins. The main structure was to be built of logs cut in the vicinity of the church. (This church stood on Bench street, somewhere in the rear of the old Mannheimer building on Third street.) The only nails to be used were such as might be necessary for the doors. The village blacksmith was to make the nails and hinges for the doors. In the fall of 1840 a small steamboat, the St. Anthony, commanded by Count Haraszthy, a Hungarian nobleman, was compelled to remain at St. Paul all winter, being unable to get away before the close of navigation. The importance of building the church was the all-absorbing topic during the winter. The count became interested and volunteered to go up the St. Croix with his steamboat the next spring and bring the slabs, if the people of St. Paul would furnish two men to load and unload. Thereupon Isaac Labissonniere and Raphael Lessner thanked the count for the courtesy extended and made the trip successfully

by securing the slabs, as Labissonniere said, "Free gratis for nothing." Thus it will be seen that the St. Croix people took an early interest and a substantial part in Christianizing St. Paul.

The Arcola mills were built in the winter of 1846 and 1847 by Martin Mower, David B. Loomis, W. H. C. Folsom, and Joseph Brewster. Subsequently the capacity was largely increased and the mills became the property of Martin and John E. Mower, who operated them successfully for a number of years.

The Franconia mill was built by Clark Brothers and Ansel Smith. The career of the mill was varied and brief.

The Osceola mill was built and began sawing in 1845. The company owning the mill consisted of Messrs. M. V. and W. H. Nobles, William Kent, William C. Mahony, and Harvey Walker.

The first mill at Hudson, Wis., was built in 1850, and was known as the Purington mill. After a varied career it was destroyed by fire. In 1883 a new and modern mill was built by the Hudson Lumber Company. This mill is one of the successful ones and is today one of the prominent mills of the St. Croix valley. As nearly as can be estimated, the lumber cut at Hudson has amounted to about 400,000,000 feet.

The mill history of Lakeland begins with the time when Moses Perrin built and began operating a sawmill in 1854. Ballard & Reynolds erected a mill in 1857. The financial panic in 1857 wound up the business affairs of both mills. Later on, C. N. Nelson came into possession of the Ballard & Watson mill. He added to its size and capacity, thus making it a successful business venture. Later on, Messrs. Fall & McCoy built a mill at Lakeland, which, although of medium capacity, was by good management made a profitable investment. At this writing these mills have been dismantled of their machinery, and the buildings have been removed.

The Afton sawmill was built by Lowry & Co. in 1854, rebuilt in 1855 by Thomas & Sons, and succumbed to the hard times of 1857. Getchell Brothers built their mill in 1861, which, although a small mill, to use a Maine expression, was a "smart one." Destruction by fire was the closing scene in its history.

The Glenmont saw mill was built by Olds & Lord in 1857. It was subsequently purchased by Gillespie & Harper, and was destroyed by fire some years since.

The Point Douglas mill was built by A. J. Short, and began sawing on May 15, 1867. Later Mr. Short sold a half interest in this mill to David Cover. In 1869 Mr. Gardner purchased the Cover interest, and subsequently he purchased the interest held by Mr. Short. This entire property was later purchased by the veteran lumberman, John Dudley, who always made a success of his investments.

The Prescott sawmill was built by Messrs. Silverthorn & Dudley in 1856. Mr. Dudley became the sole owner in 1861. This mill continued to manufacture lumber until the early nineties.

THE LATER MILLS AND THEIR PRODUCTION.

The Rust-Owen Company mill at Drummond, Wis., situated on the headwaters of the Namekagon river, is a great mill, with the most improved modern machinery and facilities for handling and sawing lumber. It was erected in 1882 by a corporation styled and known as the Drummond Lumber Company. John S. Owen was the president; F. H. Drummond, vice president; and R. E. Rust, secretary and treasurer. Later, Mr. F. W. Gilchrist became president, and A. J. Rust secretary and treasurer. The lumber cut of this company's mill foots up to 475,000,000 feet, including lath and shingles. The company has a large tract of pine, and will continue to saw for several years to come.

The Shell Lake Lumber Company's mill is located on the headwaters of Yellow river. It was constructed and began sawing in 1881, with one gang and one circular saw. In 1883 the mill was finally completed, the outfit consisting of two gangs and two circular saws. This mill was owned and managed by Messrs. Weyerhaeuser & Denckmann of Rock Island, Illinois, Lamb & Sons of Clinton, Iowa, and Messrs. Laird, Norton & Co., of Winona. The officers were L. Lamb, president; G. E. Lamb, vice president, both of Clinton, Iowa; F. Weyerhaeuser, secretary and treasurer, Rock Island, Ill.; W. R. Bourne, manager, Shell Lake, Wis. The company was organized and began the erection of the mill in October, 1880. The mill began sawing in the fall of 1881 with one gang and one circular saw. It was subsequently enlarged to double capacity. The great plant

ceased work in September, 1902. The last product of its cut was sold in September, 1903. Including lath and shingles, its cut was 550,000,000 feet.

The Barronnett Lumber Company's mill at Barronnett, Wis., was built and managed by the corporation which built and managed the Shell Lake Company's mill. This mill was erected and began sawing, March, 1881, and was in operation up to September 1, 1894, when the entire property was totally obliterated by fire. The lumber cut of this mill was 165,000,000 feet.

The Beaver Dam Lumber Company, the Cumberland Lumber Company, and the Beaver Lake Lumber Company, at Cumberland, Wis., three corporations, were managed by the following: C. W. Griggs, president; A. G. Foster, vice president; F. W. Mills, treasurer; and F. L. Olcutt, secretary. The saws of the Cumberland Lumber Company cut 7,000,000 feet of lumber during the season of 1881. The Beaver Lake Lumber Company during the period from 1882 to 1888 cut 135,000,000 feet, and the Beaver Dam Lumber Company cut 170,000,000 feet from 1888 to 1893, making a total of 312,000,000 feet.

The sawmill at New Richmond, Wis., was built in 1880 and owned by John E. Glover & Co. This mill has been in constant operation, and is fully employed at the present time. It has a large capacity, has cut two hundred and fifty million feet of lumber, and has standing timber for many years to come.

The sawmill at Clear Lake, Wis., under the ownership of John E. Glover & Co., has cut about 150,000,000 feet of lumber up to the present time.

The mill at Jewett's Falls, Wis., was built by Mr. Jewett. It was in operation some ten years, cutting about 70,000,000 feet of lumber. It was abandoned many years ago.

A number of sawmills of small capacity were cutting lumber at an early day, but little information can be obtained regarding them. Joseph Barron had a mill at Barron, Wis., that cut probably ten million feet. Mr. Woodville had a mill at Woodville, Wis. It was an active mill, situated in a timber vicinity. The estimated cut of the mill is 75,000,000 feet.

There was a small mill at Amery, Wis., in early days, but the writer was unable to gain any information as to the amount of its cut.

Somerset, Wis., was the abode of the redoubtable Gen. Samuel Harriman. From the the best information obtainable the mill at that point was built in the 50's, and probably cut some fifty million feet of lumber.

The mill at Hinckley, Minn., originated with Thomas Brennan, who built and equipped it, and established retail lumber yards in St. Paul and elsewhere. Mr. Brennan disposed of this property in 1889 to a corporation composed of the following well known lumbermen: Messrs. W. A. Rust, John S. Owen, Henry D. Davis, H. C. Putnam, and E. B. Putnam, all of Eau Claire, Wis. The management of this company was with John S. Owen, president; H. D. Davis, vice president and general manager; and E. B. Putnam, secretary and treasurer. Immediately after the purchase, the mill was destroyed by fire in 1889. Steps were at once taken to build a new mill with largely increased capacity. The new mill was in active operation when the memorable Hinckley fire destroyed the entire property, including thirty million feet of lumber in pile, besides a large body of standing timber. Some fifteen million feet of logs, that escaped the fire by being in the flowage of the Grindstone river, were taken to Stillwater to be sawed at the Atwood mills. The cut of the Hinckley mills was about 175,000,000 feet.

The Atwood Lumber Company, owning a mill at Willow River, Minn., was organized in 1895, the company purchasing the timber holdings and other interests of the Fox & Wisdom Lumber Company. The extensive improvement made to this property has made it thoroughly a first-class modern sawmill, with planing mills, and all necessary accessories for any demand that may arise for the lumber product. The yearly cut of this mill has been thirty million feet. The officers are Frederick Weyerhaeuser, president; George H. Atwood, secretary and general manager; and William Sauntry, treasurer.

The Rutledge Lumber and Manufacturing Company, at Rutledge, Minn., was organized in 1891, with A. Rutledge, president; William Sauntry, vice president; J. D. McCormack, secretary and general manager. This organization began logging operations and built the sawmill on Pine river, at a point one-half mile from Kettle River falls, in the fall and winter of 1891. The mill began sawing in June, 1892. The mill has been in

operation continuously since that time, and will finish up November 1, 1904. With the logs they have on hand the product of this mill will be two hundred million feet of lumber, and then the milling industry in that part of the country will be a part of the history of the past.

STILLWATER MILLS.

Sawyer & Heaton built a sawmill at Stillwater in 1850, which was destroyed by fire in 1852. A new and improved mill was immediately erected by Messrs. Sawyer & Heaton. This mill, after passing through several ownerships, became the property of Samuel Atlee & Co., and later on was purchased by Isaac Staples. It was managed by him for several years, until the location was sold to be used for other business purposes.

The Schulenburg-Boeckler Company was organized in 1856 by Frederick Schulenburg, A. Boeckler, and Louis Hospes. In 1887 Mr. Hospes retired, and his son, Hon. E. L. Hospes, became a partner in the firm. This mill for many years was the most important saw mill of the Northwest. Some years later the firm was dissolved. The mill became the property of Isaac Staples, E. L. Hospes, and Samuel Atlee, which firm was succeeded by George H. Atwood, who became sole proprietor, and has increased the mill's capacity from thirty-five to forty-eight million feet of lumber annually, besides a large output of lath and shingles.

In 1873, Seymour, Sabin & Co. built a mill of medium capacity, which subsequently became the property of the C. N. Nelson Company. After several years this mill was dismantled, and the machinery taken elsewhere.

In the year 1854, the firm of Hersey, Staples & Co. built a sawmill of large capacity, which was owned and managed by them for many years. In 1871 it became the property of Hersey, Bean & Co. and later, in 1892, came under the management of George H. Atwood, since which time it has cut 500,000,000 feet of lumber, with a corresponding ratio of lath and shingles.

The East Side Lumber Company was incorporated in 1888. The original stockholders were John G. Nelson, Alex. Johnson, Robert Slaughter, David Bronson and E. A. Folsom, who pur-

chased the mill property of Nelson & Johnson in the town of Houlton, Wisconsin, opposite Stillwater. The first officers of this company were David Bronson, president; John G. Nelson, vice president; E. A. Folsom, secretary and treasurer; and Robert Slaughter, general manager. During the year 1902 a half interest in the stock, held by Nelson & Johnson, was transferred to James D. and Roscoe H. Bronson. The following named gentlemen were elected officers: David Bronson, president; E. A. Folsom, vice president; James D. Bronson, secretary and treasurer; and Robert Slaughter, general manager. The mill operates one gang with a capacity of 150,000 feet per day, and one twin circular lath and shingle mill.

The St. Croix Lumber Company's mill was built in 1854, and was a total loss by fire in 1876. Mr. L. E. Torinus, in no wise discouraged, immediately took steps to and did erect an entirely new mill with much greater capacity than the old mill. The original corporation was formed by Messrs. L. E. Torinus, William Chalmers, Andrew Schow, and William Graves. Later, after the death of Mr. Torinus and the withdrawal of Messrs. Schow and Graves, the new corporation was formed by William Chalmers, Mrs. H. M. Torinus, L. E. Torinus, G. S. Welshons, and Martin Torinus. Within the past few years one of the company's mills was sold to the Eclipse Lumber Company, and one to Messrs. Tozer & Nolan. The St. Croix Lumber Company still retained the extensive wood-working factory, a large establishment.

Some years prior to 1870, Messrs. L. B. Castle and David C. Gaslin built a mill at South Stillwater. Later Mr. Castle disposed of his interest. At a later date, Messrs. Durant & Wheeler effected an arrangement with Mr. Gaslin to run the mill. Subsequently Mr. Gaslin retired from the company, Mr. Smith Ellison taking his interest. The corporation then assumed the name of Ellison & Co. Later, by reason of some change of ownership, the property became known as the South Stillwater Lumber Company, which corporation later disposed of the entire property to David Tozer, who has since made many and expensive improvements, resulting in its being one of the very best mills in the St. Croix valley. The improvements were based on the fact that Mr. Tozer has sufficient pine to supply his mill for many years to come.

The Hershey Lumber Company's mill was erected in 1875. It is designated as "the red mill." Mr. Benjamin Hershey was the first president of the company, and so remained until his death in 1893, since which time the management has been in charge of Mr. Hugh D. Campbell, who, with his large experience in all that pertains to logs and lumber, has rendered the business affairs of the company a pronounced success. With a crew of 110 men, the annual cut of the mill has averaged 25,000,000 feet of lumber.

The sawmill of R. W. Turnbull and A. R. Turnbull was built by these gentlemen in 1886. It has since been in continuous operation, giving employment daily during the summer to 125 men. The capacity of this mill is from 25,000,000 to 35,000,000 feet annually. Their shipments of lumber by water are very large, amounting to about four million feet of lumber, besides lath and shingles, in a single shipment.

The Eclipse Sawmill Company, at South Stillwater, was organized in 1901, being the successor of the St. Croix Lumber Company, having purchased one of that company's mills. This organization, by action of its board of directors, elected William Kaiser, president; H. D. Campbell, vice president; A. A. Ewart, secretary and treasurer; and I. L. Skeith, superintendent. This mill gives employment to 125 men, and has a capacity of 30,000,000 feet.

The John Martin Lumber Company had a mill situated at Mission Creek, Minn. This mill was operated successfully for a number of years by Captain John Martin. I have been unable to gain any information as to its time of erection, or length of time in operation, but have approximated the cut at 100,000,000 feet.

ST. LOUIS MILLS.

The first sawmills at St. Louis to cut St. Croix pine logs were those of West & Van Deventer and Clark & Childs. Their mills enjoyed the distinction of being the first pine mills on the Mississippi river. This was in 1844, when they purchased four rafts that had broken through the boom of the St. Croix Falls Lumber Company. Previous to the date mentioned, St. Louis depended on lumber brought in boats and barges from the

Ohio river, with the exception of small supplies received in rafts from the Chippewa, Black, and St. Croix rivers. Later on, St. Louis became a large buyer of logs and lumber from all the lumbering districts of the upper Mississippi.

PIONEER LUMBERMEN.

First on the list of pioneer lumbermen is Joseph R. Brown, who operated first in 1836 and 1837. The first regular outfit for cutting was owned by John Boyce. He came here in the fall of 1837 with eleven men and six oxen. His logging operations were at the mouth of the Snake river. Later on came Andrew Mackey, Smith Ellison, Patrick Fox, John McKusick, W. H. C. Folsom, Taylor & Fox, the Kent brothers, William O. Mahony, the Marine Lumber Company, the Stillwater Mill Company, Elias McKean, Calvin Leach, Samuel Burkleo, Jacob Fisher, Martin and John E. Mower, Stephen B. Hanks, A. M. Chase, Daniel Mears, C. G. Bradley, William McKusick, J. S. Anderson, Asa Parker, Hiram Berkey, John D. Ludden, Blake & Greeley, Sawyer & Heaton, John J. Robertson, Joseph W. Furber, James Spencer, James Casey, John O'Brien, Samuel Register, the St. Croix Falls Lumber Company, Thomas Dunn, Andrew Clendening, George Moore, Hugh Burns, James Roney, and David Tozer.

Fifty years ago, in 1854, Mr. Tozer began lumbering, is with us now, and is cutting more logs and lumber each year. He says it is too big a task to go up and look at his timber, but he is willing to wait for the logs to come and see him. L. E. Torinus died many years ago, but left an open pathway for the success of his sons.

Others were C. N. Nelson and Isaac Staples, who, with eastern associates, were the first large purchasers of pine lands and the earliest to begin lumbering on a large scale; Durant and Wheeler, who were largely interested in lumbering and steamboats; Henry McLane, who for fifty years has been on the St. Croix and spends his entire time in the woods, always finding a chance to cut a few more logs; David Cover, who passed away after an active and busy life; James and Robert Malloy; the late ex-Senator J. S. O'Brien; David C. Gaslin; David Carmich-

ael; Patrick and Jerry Whalen; John Haggerty; James and Fred Pennington; and Knight and Grover, who were killed by the Indians in 1863. I think that was the only instance of lumbermen meeting death at the hands of the Indians. Death speedily overtook the Indians, and they are now good.

C. G. Bradley, William Blanding, Henry Hanscomb, Samuel Judd, William Veasey, Sven Magnuson, Charles Bean, Jacob Bean, William, John, and Jotham Lowell, Moses and Bentley Tuttle, Charles McMillan, William Chalmers, Captain Page, R. C. Libby, John E. Glover, John Dudley, Ludden and Greeley, Samuel Harriman, William Clark & Brother, Clark & McRea, John Holt, L. F. Olds, David Lord, C. S. Getchell, Mahlon Black, Frederick Lammers, Daniel Mears, McComb, Simpson & Anderson, Andrew McGrath, Short, Proctor & Co., John and William Fisher, John Calvin, John Little, James Mulvey, Henry Jackman, Charles Gardner, and Philip McDermott, complete the list.

The lumbering today is limited, in comparison with former years. The men who are now most largely engaged in cutting logs are Mulvey & Son, Samuel McClure, James McGrath, George and A. J. Lammers, William O'Brien, Donovan & Stack, Richard Welch, John G. Nelson, Musser, Sauntry & Co., William Sauntry, Eugene and James O'Neal, Otis Staples, James and John Crotty, Irvine & Kolliner, Edwin St. John, Bronson & Folsom, David Connors, Edward Barnes, and a few others.

LARGE BUYERS OF ST. CROIX LOGS.

In the autumn of 1856 Messrs. E. S. & A. B. Youmans erected a sawmill in Winona. In common with other mills of that date, it had the regulation muley saw. In 1877 and 1878 the mill's capacity was increased by the addition of a gang. About this time the firm was incorporated as Youmans Brothers & Hodgkins. In 1887 and 1888 the mill's capacity was again enlarged by the substitution of three gangs instead of one. This mill was in active operation until 1898, when it was shut down and dismantled.

In 1855 Laird Brothers were engaged in handling sawed

lumber from the Chippewa river. In October, 1856, this firm was changed to Laird, Norton & Co. They built their first mill in 1857. It consisted of one muley and one circular saw. The sawing capacity was subsequently enlarged by substituting two circulars for the muley and small circular. In 1878 the old mill was taken down and replaced by a new mill with modern machinery, including two gangs. This mill was destroyed by fire in June, 1887, and was immediately replaced by the present mill, which cuts thirty-five to forty million feet of lumber annually. Their mills have virtually run continuously since 1857 to the present time.

The Winona Lumber Company began business in 1881. Its career was inaugurated by the construction of a mill with two circulars and two gangs. The circulars were taken out and replaced by band saws, giving their mill a capacity of thirty-five to forty million feet annually. The mill has been in active operation since 1881, but for the past four years only the two band saws have been operated.

The Empire Lumber Company of Winona began the erection of its first mill in the winter of 1886-7. The machinery was brought from Eau Claire, a scarcity of logs there having changed the location to Winona. This mill likewise has an annual capacity of thirty-five to forty million feet, and has been sawing steadily since it was built.

The first three sawmills at Moline, Ill., were built in 1845 and 1846. They were water-power mills, and cut native timber. Dimmock, Gould & Co. purchased a raft of pine logs from W. H. C. Folsom in 1855, which were cut by a water-power mill and were used for making tubs and pails. Keator & Skinner built a steam sawmill there in 1858 and 1859, which cut St. Croix pine logs.

Bailey & Boyle built a sawmill at Rock Island, in their boat yard, which was used for the purpose of sawing timber for the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railroad in 1850. They sawed St. Croix logs. They were crowded out of their location in 1853 by that railroad, and rebuilt in the same year on the site now occupied by Weyerhaeuser & Denckmann for sawmill purposes, who bought the property in 1859 or 1860 and have steadily increased the plant's capacity. This mill was the initial step to-

ward the throne now held by the lumber king, Frederick Weyerhaeuser.

The first sawmill at Muscatine, Iowa, was a primitive affair and was erected in 1837. In 1843-44, a mill was built there by Cornelius Cable. In 1858 the mill was sold to Chambers Brothers. They enlarged this mill, and later built a steam sawmill. The two mills had a combined capacity of twenty million feet annually. They were operated until 1874, when the larger mill was burned. The property was sold in 1880 to a Mr. Dessaint, who in 1881 again sold it to the Muscatine Lumber Company. They enlarged it to a capacity of 25,000,000 feet annually. The natural enemy of sawmills overtook it in 1886, leaving it in ashes.

In 1852 Mr. Jacob Hershey laid the foundation of the great Hershey Lumber Company. Mr. Benjamin Hershey came into possession of the property in 1853. His restless genius contrived and carried out year by year many new and valuable adjuncts, which made the Hershey sawmill celebrated as not only a modern mill, but a model one. Mr. Hershey has passed away, the mill has been dismantled, but the memories of the eccentricities of Ben Hershey still remain with those who knew him.

In the late seventies U. N. Burdick built a mill at South Muscatine, and later it was sold to Ben Hershey, who operated it until 1893, when it was sold to Mr. John Kaiser. It is operated by the South Muscatine Lumber Company, and has an annual capacity of 25,000,000 feet.

The Musser Lumber Company in 1870 built a mill at South Muscatine. In 1880 the mill was enlarged and improved by adding machinery, which increased the output. Its annual output is 40,000,000 feet. This mill has constantly been in active operation. The Musser Lumber Company is largely interested in many lumber and logging concerns on the St. Croix, being largely interested in the Musser and Sauntry timber holdings.

In 1848 a sawmill outfit was brought to Davenport, Iowa, from the Wisconsin river. The mill was managed by several owners until 1857, when it was burned.

In 1849 a Mr. Howard erected a mill at Davenport and sold it to Alex. McGregor, who in turn sold it to John Cannon. Later the firm was French & Cannon, succeeded by French & Davis.

It is now the property of Paige, Dixon & Co., and has, I think, discontinued sawing.

In 1849 Strong Burnett built a saw and planing mill at Davenport. In 1851 S. S. Gillett and J. H. Lambright became interested in the business. The firm was successful and did a large business in the pineries. The panic of 1857 was fatal, obliging them to close up its affairs. In 1865 the mill became the property of Dessaint & Schraver and so remains, cutting 13,000,000 feet annually.

The Renwick mill was built there in 1854 and was operated by Renwick & Son very successfully. It was under the management of Renwick, Shaw & Crossett. The capacity of the mill was 14,000,000 feet annually.

Lindsey & Phelps erected their mill at Davenport in 1864, and it has been in constant operation. The mill has been a thorough success. Mr. John Phelps has passed from life's cares and duties, but the work he assisted in planning is being carried on by Mr. J. E. Lindsey, the surviving partner, who, at the age of seventy-eight years has apparently retained the physical and mental vigor requisite for the management of a large and increasing business. Mr. Lindsey is one of the few of the old time lumbermen that made up the lumber history of Minnesota and Wisconsin, who continues at the helm.

In 1868 Mr. L. C. Dessaint built a mill at East Davenport. In 1874 the mill came into the possession of George W. Cable. In 1879 the Cable Lumber Company was formed and continues to the present time. The company for many years past has been largely interested in St. Croix timber lands and logs.

The Taber Lumber Company of Keokuk is largely engaged in cutting St. Croix logs in its mills, and the company has in the past twenty-five years been a large buyer in Stillwater.

The Carson, Rand, and Burlington Lumber Companies have for many years depended on the St. Croix market for filling special orders for large bridge and railroad timbers.

Zimmerman & Ives of Guttenberg, Dorchester & Hughey of Bellevue, the Standard Lumber Company of Dubuque, the Gem City Mill Company of Quincy, Ill., six large concerns at St. Louis, and many other smaller concerns on the Mississippi, procured their stock chiefly from the St. Croix.

RAFTING LOGS AND LUMBER.

In the early days of lumbering on the St. Croix a raft contained some 500,000 feet of logs or lumber. The methods in vogue for getting these commodities to market were crude and exceedingly laborious, attended with more or less uncertainty. The first rafts taken out were taken through lakes St. Croix and Pepin by means of sails, if the wind proved to be fair, the sails being made by standing the shanty boards on end and tying blankets on poles in such a manner that they would catch the breeze. In calm weather, along a sandy beach, all hands went on shore, and pulled the raft by a hand line. This method was called cordelling, and two to four miles a day of sixteen hours was an average day's work. Sometimes, when cordelling was impracticable, two thousand feet of line was laid ahead with an anchor and warped in by hand.

Fearing storms, the men continued this work day and night as long as they could stand it to work without sleep. Now and then some passing boat bound down stream would take the rafts into tow. Captain R. S. Harris of the Otter and later the War Eagle, gave the rafts a tow at so much per hour, I think $15. The raft pilots were willing to pay any price to hurry through the raftman's dread, lake Pepin. The writer well remembers seeing the west shore of lake Pepin, from Lake City to Read's Landing, white from broken lumber, when three lumber rafts were broken to pieces and rendered entirely valueless in a storm, the breakup resulting in the loss of many thousands of dollars to the pilots and owners of the lumber.

Early in the 50's the lumber trade of the St. Croix assumed a commercial importance, sufficient to place towboats on lake St. Croix and lake Pepin, to tow rafts through the lakes mentioned. The Caleb Cape, in 1851, was the first towboat so engaged. The regular charge for taking a raft from Stillwater to Read's Landing, at the foot of Lake Pepin, was $10 per string, rafts at that time containing eight to ten strings. A string was a row of lumber in cribs and was 500 feet in length. A string of logs consisted of a row of logs six to eight logs wide, bound together with poles fastened to the logs by boring two auger holes, one on each side of the pole, by which a small oak hook, called a lock-down,

was placed over the pole, the two ends of the lock-down being inserted in the auger holes and fastened with plugs. The log and lumber strings were of the same length, each being sixteen feet wide.

At that period the rafts were managed by large oars some forty-five feet long, one oar being placed on each end of a string of logs or lumber. With a man at each oar the raft was guided to its destination. The older pilots became very expert in the matter of handling their unwieldly crafts, and became thoroughly conversant with all the obstacles of navigation on the great stretch of the river, 800 miles, intervening between Stillwater and St. Louis, so that raft after raft was taken to its destination intact as when it started on the long and apparently never ending journey. In my opinion, the knowledge and skill of the steamboat and raft pilots, considering the length of the stream traversed, the then condition of the Mississippi river, unimproved, before government lights were placed for the guidance of the pilot, the vast number of boats, and the large number of rafts then passing down the river, are without a parallel in the history of navigation. Dark nights were no obstacle, and only the lack of sufficient water to float the craft interfered with the commerce of the upper Mississippi.

Oh, the good old times from 1852 to the fatal September of 1857! Wages for raft and steamboat pilots were from $300 to $500 per month, and pilots were frequently engaged by contract for the entire season of navigation. Those were the days of huge gold watch chains, and of velvet on coat collars and cuffs. When ladies visited the pilot-house, the pilot donned kid gloves. The windows of the pilot-house were ornamented with the signature and address of many fair visitors. Possibly a reminiscent mood may recall this part of our early history to the memory of some of the grandmothers of the present day.

The *costume de rigueur* of the raft pilot was French calf boots, black cassimere trousers, red flannel shirt of extra fine knitted goods, a large black silk necktie, tied in a square knot with flowing ends, and a soft, wide-brimmed black or white hat. Owing to the infrequent visits of ladies, the kid gloves were dispensed with. The steamboat pilots were always on the watch upstream for their friends, the raft pilots, to throw them a pack-

age of late newspapers, supplemented by the spirit dispenser's compliments in one or more bottles or demijohns.

Soon a new order of things began in the history of lumbering. In the 60's Captain C. G. Bradley undertook and made a successful trip by towing a raft with the steamboat Minnie Wills, to Clinton, Iowa. This system of taking logs and lumber to market increased rapidly, and within four years the logs heretofore rafted were "put up," as the saying is, in "brails," not using the former method of poles, plugs, lock-downs, and oars. Logs were placed in booms 600 feet in length or longer, and 125 feet in width, held together with cross lines. The gain to the log men was the lessening of expense in putting the logs in condition for the run to market, and to mill men the saving in lumber by not having the auger holes in the logs. Since the first venture of the Minnie Wills, with the new method of running logs and lumber, more than a hundred and fifty steamboats have been engaged in taking the lumber product of the St. Croix, upper Mississippi, Chippewa, and Black rivers to the various distributing points along the Mississippi river.

The principal distributing points were as follows (the railway systems having changed the situation so that they now take the lumber from more northerly localities): Red Wing, Wabasha, Winona, La Crosse, McGregor, Guttenberg, Dubuque, Bellevue, Savanna, Galena, Fulton, Lyons, Clinton, Moline, Rock Island, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington, Fort Madison, Keithsburg, Oquawka, Montrose, Keokuk, Canton, Quincy, Hannibal, Louisiana, Alton, and St. Louis.

A small quantity of lumber was taken to Memphis during the war. The raft was run by Captain David Hanks. Notwithstanding that it was a raft, and not a gunboat, members of the crew were made targets by the guerrillas on shore; but the raft and crew escaped and reached Memphis.

The first raft boats cost possibly $3,000, but since the advent of the Minnie Wills the large sawmill firms have placed in the towing business boats of greater cost, power, and speed, than the average upper Mississippi packets of early days. Some of these boats have taken rafts from Stillwater containing 5,400,000 feet of lumber, heavily laden with lath, shingles, and pickets, a cargo valued at $60,000.

PILOTS.

First on the list of pilots, and now in good health, is Capt. Stephen B. Hanks of Albany, Ill., who began his career in 1841. Others were William Ganley, Phineas O. Lawrence, James McPhail, Nelson Allen, now of Minneapolis, Edward Whiting, Severe Bruce, Patrick Fox, who made one or two trips, Pembroke Herold, David Hanks, Daniel Davidson, Aaron, George, and Mahlon Winans, David and John Wray, Edwin Efner, E. W. Durant, Wiley Penney, Samuel Hanks, John Hanford, W. A. Payne, John Gabriel, Samuel Register, George Penney, Joseph Perro, familiarly known as Big Joe, George Brassar, D. McDonald, H. L. Peevy, Robert Dodds, Hiram Cobb, William Dorr, Charles and Stephen Rhoads, Peter Carlton, Aug. Barlow, Samuel Macey, William Elliott, C. G. Bradley, R. J. Wheeler, Harry Wheeler, Ed. Root, Alfred and Thomas Withrow, William and James Whistler, John Goodnow, Joe Denvier, Frank Wild, George Wallace, Charles Short, A. M. Short, A. L. Short, Loam Short, H. Short, L. A. Day, L. A. Day, Jr., John McCaffrey, James Hugunin, Cornelius Knapp, Ira Fuller, William Yorks, A. J. Chapman, Caleb Philbrook, John Cormack, Washington Allen, John Munroe, Abram Mitchell, John Leach, Daniel McLean, James Newcomb, John Rutherford, Jack Walker, Thomas Forbush, Sherman Hallum, Charles Roman, Captain Kratzke, Will. Davis, John McCarthy, Peter O'Rourke, Thomas O'Rourke, Nelson Allen, Patrick and John Gainor, Asa Woodward, John Gilbert, John Seabring, John and Thomas Hoy, Walter Hunter, Isaac Newcomb, Ira De Camp, William Wier, Frank Newcomb, Rufus Newcomb, James Haggerty, Joseph Sloan, A. T. Jenks, George, Chris, and Alfred Carpenter, Charles A. Davidson, Ed. Huttinghorn, William Slocum, William Slocum, Jr., Herbert Miliron, Ed. Miller, Al. Shaw, Lindsey, alias "Old Kentuck," Daniel Flynn, Frank Whitnall, and Ed. Grant Many of these have passed away, while others are still actively employed on the St. Croix and Mississippi boats.

STEAMBOATS.

The first steamboat to navigate the waters of Lake St. Croix and river was the Palmyra, Captain Middleton of Hannibal, Mo.

This boat landed at Taylor's Falls in July, 1838. The second boat was the Gypsy, which landed at Stillwater in November, 1838. This boat brought up the supplies and money used in paying the Chippewa Indians, pursuant to the treaty made July 29, 1837, between the Indians and the United States government. The third boat to navigate the St. Croix was probably the Fayette, in the early summer of 1839, bringing supplies and sawmill machinery for the Marine Lumber Company, which were landed at Marine. Later on, in 1840, the boats coming to the St. Croix waters were the Annie, General Pike, Indian Queen and Brazil. In 1841 the boats coming to the St. Croix were the Otter, Captain R. S. Harris; the Chippewa, Captain Griffith; the Sarah Ann, Captain Lafferty; and the Rock River, Captain Haraszthy, a Hungarian count and exile.

In 1842 came the New Brazil, Capt. Orren Smith, considered quite large, being 160 feet long and 23 feet beam; the Amaranth, Capt. G. W. Atchison; Ione, Capt. Le Roy Dodge; the General Brooke, Capt. Throckmorton; and the Otter and Rock River. In 1843 came the Jasper; and in 1844 the Lewis F. Lynn, Capt. S. M. Kennett, Lynx, Capt. W. H. Hooper, the St. Croix, and the Cecilia.

In 1845 came the Uncle Tobey, Captain Cole, Mendota, Hibernian, and St. Anthony; in 1846, the War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris, Falcon, Prairie Bird, Capt. Nick Wall, and the Cora. The War Eagle towed a fleet of rafts through lake Pepin for Capt. Stephen B. Hanks.

In 1847 came the Argo, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, with R. Blakeley, clerk. The writer shipped a quantity of corn on this boat for the St. Croix. The Argo struck a snag just above Winona, near a small island, which received from this incident the name of Argo island. The boat was advertised as a regular packet between Galena and Stillwater, but sank where she struck and never was raised. Other boats entering the St. Croix the same season were the Dubuque and Senator.

In 1848 came the Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison; and the Anthony Wayne, Dr. Franklin No. 2, Relief, Frontier, Smelter, and Preëmption. The writer came on the Senator, the earliest boat in the spring of this year. The boat was cast ashore on lake Pepin by the ice. It

was nine days in making the trip from Galena to St. Paul, and could not ascend lake St. Croix on account of ice. The passengers were landed at St. Paul and walked to Stillwater, arriving there April 7, 1848.

In 1849 Minnesota was admitted as a territory; and two years later treaties with the Indians opened a large area, and immigration began in earnest. Stillwater had then assumed a prominent place in the new territory. The number of steamboat arrivals increased largely. New and strong steamboat companies were organized; strife for business was fierce and lively. All boats coming to Minnesota included the name of Stillwater in their advertisements and posters.

Among the numerous arrivals during the two years 1849 and 1850 were the steamers Nominee, Yankee, and Lamartine; the Excelsior, Capt. James Ward; Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison, who died suddenly of cholera on his steamboat at the landing at St. Louis; and the Tiger, Captain Maxwell, a small but exceedingly active boat, probably 100 feet in length and 18 foot beam. In 1850 the Anthony Wayne came to Stillwater and landed her passengers on the platform of the Minnesota House, where "the Old Fort" now stands, fully 200 yards from the present shore line of the lake.

In 1851 the steamboat arrivals were generally two each week during the entire season. The large immigration and importation of lumbermen's supplies made Stillwater an important point. The lumber trade was chiefly at points below Galena, and St. Louis was the wholesale market in which the Stillwater lumbermen purchased their supplies and general merchandise. In 1852 a line of steamboats was established to ply between St. Louis and Stillwater and St. Paul, with the intermediate points. This temporary organization was supplemented by the formation of the Northern Line Packet Company, owning boats of large tonnage and superior passenger accommodations. Nearly all the boats of this line made Stillwater their terminal on their trips for many years during the continuance of the organization.

In 1856 the St. Croix lake and river passenger and freight traffic was inaugurated by the advent of the complete little steamer Eolian, the first regular boat to enter the trade between Prescott, Stillwater, and Taylor's Falls. Capt. S. L. Cowan was the master, and David Bronson, clerk. Other boats were the H. S.

Allen, Capt. Strong; Enterprise, Capt. John Langford; The Pioneer; Wyman X, Capt. Wyman X. Folsom; G. B. Knapp, Capt. Oscar Knapp, who was also the master of the Nellie Kent, Jennie Hayes and Cleone; the Viola, Capt. Bartlett; and the Swallow, Capt. Samuel Hanks. The H. S. Allen was for one or two seasons commanded by Captain Strong, and for several succeeding seasons by Captain Isaac Gray.

In 1857 the Equator, Captain Asa Green, master, divided the traffic with the Eolian, the Pioneer, Captain Storer, the Bangor, Capt. Fortune, and the Viola, Capt. Bartlett. Captain Gray sold the H. S. Allen, and built the G. H. Gray.

On the opening of the St. Croix packet trade, most of the large boats plying between St. Louis and St. Paul reshipped their passengers and freight at Prescott for the St. Croix valley, and Prescott was a lively little city. Several down river boats landed daily and two packets left daily for the St. Croix. Many of the old settlers of the St. Croix valley remember the stirring steamboat times of the fifties. These boats carried to their destination many pioneers who, with their children, opened the wild land of the St. Croix valley. Their houses thatched with hay have passed from sight, but not from memory. The first few acres cleared and cultivated during those early years have been increased to many farms of large areas, equipped with comfortable homes, great barns, and large herds of stock. Verily, the immigrant families have their own vine and fig tree for home and shelter. The little tots who were carried ashore from the boats in their mothers' arms have become prominent in the history of our state.

Possibly one of the most important adjuncts to the city of St. Paul was the St. Croix valley. The writer can testify that many of the large commercial houses in that city were assisted to their present eminence in the commercial affairs of the state by the trade of the St. Croix valley; and their owners owe very much to the people of this valley for the large competencies they have acquired, and for their present high standing in the commercial world. An examination of the Stillwater banks shows that for many years the St. Croix valley paid to St. Paul merchants from one to one and a half million dollars annually.

Apropos to steamboats and navigation, I wish to correct an erroneous impression that has gained some credence, in regard to

the gradual failing of the water supply of our streams, by relating some of my observations and experiences of the past. Since the Duluth and St. Paul railroad, then so-called, was built into Stillwater, it frequently occurred that the lower river boats were unable to ascend the Mississippi river to St. Paul, because of low water, and were obliged to bring their passengers and freight to Stillwater, and to reship by rail to St. Paul. During the seasons of 1862 and 1863 we had exceedingly low water in all the northwestern streams. In 1863 I had charge of a small stern-wheel boat called the Alone. When I went on board of the boat to take the management as master and pilot, the name struck me as being singular. I inquired of the owner the origin of the name, and he replied that his wife ran away and left him alone. I took charge and began making trips with freight from Read's Landing to Stillwater and intermediate points. The water kept on falling. The boat was loaded to draw 20 inches, and finally the water became so scant that I had to employ four yoke of oxen to pull the boat over Willow bar at Hudson. Where the Mississippi river enters the head of Lake Pepin the stream is wide and shoal. Here I was annoyed and delayed by cattle feeding on the water grass that grew above the surface, and was obliged to have my crew stand on the lower deck of the boat to drive the cattle away in order to prevent them from being run over. I had heard of light draft boats running on a dew, but it must have been when the dew was on and the cattle off.

STEAMBOAT BUILDING.

In 1887 Swain & Durant built the steamer Borealis Rex. This boat, now seventeen years old, has been in the passenger trade constantly, and is one of the swiftest boats running out of the port of Natchez. Captain Swain built the Verne Swain, a passenger boat now running on the lower river; the Percy Swain, a popular passenger boat; and the Fred Swain and the Little Rufus, two popular southern passenger boats. He is now completing the large new steamer, Verne Swain, which will take the place of the Fred Swain on the Illinois river, when that boat enters traffic between Illinois river points and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Captain Morgan built the steamers Isaac Staples and Edwin Staples, for Isaac Staples.

Captain Register built the Bun Hersey, and the Lora was built by Captain Smith and Captain Kent.

A prominent St. Croix boat was the Maggie Reaney. Adolph Munch built the Osceola; Martin Mower built the Gracie Mower; a man named Winch built the Delta. A small boat, the Plow Boy, ran between Prescott and Hastings. Messrs. Ham, West, and Truax built the Luella, which made occasional trips to Stillwater. The Columbia was built by George Miller for William Sauntry. The Wyman X. was built by W. H. C. Folsom of Taylor's Falls, and he also built the Frankie Folsom. The Minnie Wills and Mark Bradley were built by C. G. Bradley of Osceola. The steamer St. Croix was built by Butler & Gray, Stillwater. The Helen Mar was Built at Osceola by William Kent and John Dudley; The Joe Long was built by David M. Swain for Captain Long of Le Claire; the Ravenna was built by Anderson & O'Brien of Stillwater; the Jennie Hayes was built at Franconia by O. F. Knapp & Sons. Among the boats built by Durant, Wheeler & Co and J. Batchelder were the Pauline, Daisy, Nettie Durant, Ed. Durant, Jr., R. J. Wheeler, the Dispatch, the new Louisville, Gardie Eastman, Kit Carson, Ten Broeck, Robert Dodds, Cyclone, and Nina. The Ada B., Gracie Mower, Eva, and Arcola, were built by Martin Mower. From the above it will be noted that steamboat building has been an important industry on the St. Croix, particularly at Stillwater. The boats were built mostly for towing purposes, and they have been noted for their power and speed.

The following raft boats have been in commission on Lake St. Croix: Alvira, Lone Star, Viola, Julia Hadley, Iowa City, Pioneer, Alone, Louisville, Moonstone, Annie Gordon, Abner Gile, Argosa, Artemus Lamb, Buckeye, Brother Jonathan, Bill Henderson, Chas. Rodgers, Clyde, Chauncey Lamb, Enterprise, D. A. McDonald, Jim Watson, J. W. Van Sant, Kate Waters, L. W. Barden, L. W. Crane, Le Claire Belle, M. Whitmore, Mollie Mohler, Minnie Wills, Mark Bradley, Natrona, Dexter, Dan Hine, I. E. Staples, Hiram Price, Hudson, Helen Mar, James Malborn, Park Painter, Pearl, Penn Wright, Prescott, Robert Ross, Swallow, Sterling, St. Anthony Falls, Vivian, Lydia Van Sant, Black Hawk, Alice D., St. Croix, Edwin C., Baby, Flora, Sam Atlee, Menominie, Juniata, Sam Van Sant, Mars, Musser, Lady Grace, Joe Long, Pilot, Rambo, Georgie S., Gypsy, Mary B., F. C.

Brockman, W. H. Kendall, Wanderer, Robert Semple, Gazelle, Jessie Bills, Saturn, Borealis Rex, F. Schulenberg, Daniel Hillman, Minnesota, F. Boeckeler, Lafayette Lamb, Rutledge, Park Bluff, Daisy, Silver Crescent, G. B. Knapp, W. H. Wilson, Jennie Brown, Lion, Horace H., Hennepin, Satellite, Pathfinder, Stillwater, Silas Wright, Union, William White, W. H. Clark, Wyman X., Robert Dodds, Gardie Eastman, Nettie Durant, E. W. Durant, Jr., R. J. Wheeler, Isaac Staples, David Bronson, Bun Hersey, Ben Hershey, Moline, Eclipse, F. Weyerhaeuser, F. C. R. Denkman, Cyclone, Henrietta, Flora Clark, Glenmont, Frontenac, A. T. Jenks, Kit Carson, Kentucky No. 2, Hamburg, Dispatch, Lizzie Gardner, Hyde Clarke, Robert Burdette, Ida Fulton, Ravenna, Waunetta, Inverness, Scotia, Pauline, and Sea Wing.

THE GIANT ST. CROIX BOOM.

This concern has been and will continue to be an important factor in the lumber interest of the St. Croix district until the last log has passed the ordeal of its predecessors. Until 1850 the logs came down the St. Croix and were caught and held in the various sloughs, where they were rafted for market or sorted for the local saw mills. In 1850 a boom was constructed two miles above Osceola, where logs were sorted for some years. The St. Croix Boom Company, incorporated February 27, 1856, was organized by the following named gentlemen: Martin Mower, W. H. C. Folsom, Isaac Staples, Christopher Carli, Samuel Burkleo, and their associates. The management for many years was in the hands of Martin Mower and Isaac Staples. In 1889 a company was formed which effected a lease of the entire boom property. The officers of the new management, which still continues, are William Sauntry, president; James Mulvey, vice-president; Samuel McClure, secretary and treasurer. The directors consist of the officers, Jacob Bean, and a few others.

SCENERY OF THE ST. CROIX LAKE AND RIVER.

A few words concerning this beautiful lake and river will not be amiss. For many years before the large lumber operations filled the St. Croix river with logs, the river was the daily route

for freight and excursion steamers. It is a stream of surpassing beauty, a kaleidoscopic panorama, bringing delightful scenery to view with every turn of the stream. It has high bluffs, picturesque rocks, and innumerable springs gushing from the rocky cliffs above the bed of the stream, while the entire river from its source to its junction with the Mississippi is increased from the flow of springs in the river bed. The magnificence of the scenery has not deteriorated by time. Nature's handiwork has not been marred by the vast lumber traffic of more than half a century. Ere long the great volume of the lumber history will be closed. The exciting trips up the St. Croix, and the wonderful and weird specimens of nature's generous gifts, the Dalles of the St. Croix, will attract the visitor as in the days of old. Excursions up the St. Croix will continue to attract lovers of nature and fishermen.

Recognizing that what I have written is to become a part of the history of Minnesota, I have brought to bear recollections of fifty-six years, during which time my friends and associates were the men of whom I have written. Valuable assistance has been afforded me by Captain Russell Blakeley's work on "The Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," in Volume VIII of this Society's Collections; by W. H. C. Folsom's "Fifty Years in the Northwest," and by his "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley," published by this Society in its Volume IX; and also by personal information from Messrs. A. L. Larpenteur and Isaac Labissonniere, coupled with a large array of facts bearing upon this subject, from individual lumber and steamboat men.

Gentlemen of the Minnesota Historical Society, I have to the best of my ability performed the duty assigned me. It has been a labor filled with many pleasant recollections, but tinged with sad memories, because the vast army of those who took part in this history, having performed their life work, have been called from labor to rest. But few who formed that mighty host remain. This article but chronicles their efforts; of the result the living may judge.

STATISTICS.

In connection with this article it may be mentioned that a vast number of logs have been brought to Stillwater by rail, shipments of that kind up to the present season amounting to 158,-

446,000 feet. A tabulation of logs that came through the boom, lumber sawed at mills on headwaters of the St. Croix, and rail shipments, is as follows:

Logs Scaled through the St. Croix Boom.

Year.	Feet (approximate).
1840	5,000,000
1841	8,000,000
1842	9,000,000
1843	10,000,000
1844	15,000,000
1845	20,000,000
1846	40,000,000
1847	60,000,000
1848	62,000,000
1849	75,000,000
1850	90,000,000
1851	100,000,000
1852	110,000,000
1853	120,000,000
1854	125,000,000
1855	130,000,000
1856	135,000,000
1857	140,000,000
1858	142,000,000
1859	145,000,000
1860	150,000,000
1861	140,000,000
1862	20,000,000
1863	20,000,000
1864	140,000,000
1865	130,000,000
1866	145,000,000
1867	128,000,000
1868	145,000,000
1869	150,000,000
1870	165,000,000
1871	170,000,000
1872	180,000,000
1873	160,000,000
1874	120,000,000
	3,504,000,000

Year.	Logs.	Feet.
1875	782,685	121,389,720
1876	898,340	153,252,000
1877	765,004	130,540,890
1878	810,329	132,735,870
1879	1,146,850	201,763,500
1880	1,178,940	201,440,800
1881	1,528,250	231,000,500
1882	1,652,890	273,810,400
1883	1,672,350	271,272,800
1884	1,723,450	274,350,600
1885	1,590,860	225,540,800
1886	1,556,820	191,454,500
1887	1,726,800	270,060,100
1888	2,256,870	365,480,300
1889	1,987,689	262,385,980
1890	3,468,320	452,360,890
1891	2,520,380	315,180,700
1892	3,361,799	436,899,770
1893	3,030,884	359,468,720
1894	2,496,262	281,470,400
1895	3,441,991	373,062,850
1896	3,258,622	321,764,530
1897	3,082,456	311,084,290
1898	3,213,537	336,479,950
1899	3,676,958	391,083,770
1900	2,397,940	239,227,730
1901	3,134,448	251,448,220
1902	1,761,015	160,149,910
1903	3,010,750	245,675,230
	63,133,480	7,781,835,720

1837-38	300,000 feet.	
1838-39	700,000	
1839-40	1,500,000	2,500,000
1840-74		3,504,000,000
Total		11,288,335,720

	Feet.
Logs brought by railroad to Stillwater	158,446,000
Lumber sawed at mills on headwaters of the St. Croix	4,237,000,000
Total of the St. Croix basin	15,683,781,720

Logs Brought by Rail to Lake St. Croix.

	Feet.
Durant & Wheeler, and Jordan & Mathews, Hudson	18,000,000
C. N. Nelson Lumber Co. (1882)	5,000,000
Clinton Lumber Co. (1890)	3,000,000
Musser, Sauntry & Co., Hudson	43,800,000
William Kaiser	14,710,000
Ott, Menser & Co	9,360,000
Taber Lumber Co.	21,284,000
Zimmerman & Ives	10,122,000
South Muscatine Lumber Co.	13,634,000
Lindsay Phelps Co.	7,731,000
Atwood Lumber Co.	8,573,000
H. D. Campbell	2,032,000
Rand Lumber Co.	1,200,000
	158,446,000

MINNESOTA'S EASTERN, SOUTHERN AND WESTERN BOUNDARIES.*

BY ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL.

The present eastern boundary of Minnesota, in part, has a history beginning even earlier than that of the northern boundary. In 1763, at the end of that long struggle during which England passed many a mile post in her race for world empire, while France lost nearly as much as Britain gained,—that struggle called in America the French and Indian war,—the Mississippi river became an international boundary. The articles of the treaty of peace were drawn up and signed at Paris on February 10, 1763. The seventh article made the Mississippi from its source to about the 31st degree of north latitude the boundary between the English colonies on this continent and French Louisiana. The text of the article ran as follows:†

> VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; . . .

The boundary from the source of the river farther north, or west, or in any direction, was not given; it was evidently supposed that it would be of no importance for many centuries, at least.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 9, 1904. A previous paper by the same author, entitled "Minnesota's Northern Boundary," was published in these Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. viii. pp. 185-212, Dec., 1896.

†The text of this treaty is not readily found. It was published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, pp. 121-126, March, 1763.

This circumstance gave to the United States the opportunity, later, of extending Louisiana to the 49th parallel; in fact it admitted of indefinite extension northward and westward.

Through the skill of the American negotiators at Paris twenty years later, in 1783, the United States was made the successor of England over all the territory east of the Mississippi, and that river thus became the international boundary between the newborn republic and the territory of Louisiana, which had passed into the possession of Spain by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762, whereby France had already relinquished that great territory previous to the treaty of 1763. The second article of the treaty in 1783 (alike in its provisional and definitive texts) defined the western boundary of the United States as follows:*

> and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude.

It was after another interval of twenty years that the next change came. In the midst of his victorious career, the first Napoleon had dictated the cession of Louisiana back to France, by the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, October 1, 1800; but he realized that he could not hold it against England, and in 1803 he sold the whole territory to the United States. Upon the completion of this cession, on the 30th of April, 1803, the Mississippi permanently ceased to be an international boundary.

Within the Union, the Mississippi was, after 1783, the western boundary of the "Northwest Territory," and by the passage of the famous "Northwest Ordinance"† it was provided that this river should be the boundary of "the western State." The fifth article runs as follows:

> Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said [i.e., the Northwest] territory, not less than three, nor more than five States; . . . the western State in the said territory shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due

*Treaties and Conventions of the United States, pp. 371 and 377.

†Passed July 13, 1787, by the Congress of the Confederation. The text of this Ordinance is given in Executive Documents, 3rd session, 46th Congress, 1880-81, vol. xxv, Doc. 47, Part 4, pp. 153-156.

north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle States . . .

After a time there came a demand for organized government to establish law among the scattered settlers. Ohio had organized a territorial government in 1799; but the middle and western "States," authorized in the Ordinance of 1787, had little prospect of a sufficient population to warrant an established government. Congress solved the difficulty by uniting the latter under the name Indiana. The act was passed May 7, 1800, and its first section reads as follows:*

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the fourth day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio river, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory.

After the short interval of nine years Indiana Territory had so many settlers as to be able to support two governments, according to the original plan, and the Territory of Illinois was established Februray 3, 1809, by the following enactment:†

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the first day of March next, all that part of the Indiana territory which lies west of the Wabash river and a direct line drawn from the said Wabash river and Post Vincennes, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government constitute a separate territory, and be called Illinois.

After another interval of nine years the next change came. Illinois desired to become a state, and so the northern portion, mainly unoccupied, was cut off and added to the Territory of Michigan, previously created. This transfer of territory was authorized in section seven of the act passed April 18, 1818, enabling Illinois to form a State government and constitution, and is in the following terms:‡

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That all that part of the territory of the United States lying north of the state of Indiana, and which was

*United States Statues at Large, vol. ii, p. 58.
†Ibid., vol. ii, p. 514.
‡Ibid., vol. iii, p. 431.

included in the former Indiana territory, together with that part of the Illinois territory which is situated north of and not included within the boundaries prescribed by this act [viz. the boundaries of the State of Illinois], to the state thereby authorized to be formed, shall be, and hereby is, attached to, and made a part of the Michigan territory . . .

Matters rested thus for sixteen years, when it was considered wise to extend the benefits of organized government over the territory west of the Mississippi and north of the State of Missouri. This was accomplished by merely adding the whole vast area to the Territory of Michigan. In 1803 the Mississippi ceased to be an international boundary; in 1834, by the extension of Michigan as thus noted, its upper portion ceased to be a political boundary of any description. This condition continued, however, for less than four years. The act so enlarging Michigan Territory passed Congress on the 28th of June, 1834, in the following terms:*

Be it enacted, etc., That all that part of the territory of the United States bounded on the east by the Mississippi river, on the south by the state of Missouri, and a line drawn due west from the northwest corner of said state to the Missouri river; on the southwest and west by the Missouri river and the White Earth river, falling into the same; and on the north by the northern boundary of the United States, shall be, and hereby is, for the purpose of temporary government, attached to, and made a part of, the territory of Michigan . . .

This condition was unusually short-lived, because Michigan was already eager for admission. In less than two years certain territory was set apart to form the proposed state, and all the rest was included in the new Territory of Wisconsin. This act† passed Congress on the 20th of April, 1836, though Michigan was not admitted until January 26, 1837.

The next change made the northern Mississippi again a boundary. The Territory of Iowa was created by the act of June 12, 1838, which divided the Territory of Wisconsin along the Mississippi river, and named the western part Iowa. The act provided:‡

That from and after the third day of July next, all that part of the present Territory of Wisconsin which lies west of the Mississippi river,

*Ibid., vol. iv., p. 701.

†Ibid., vol. v. pp. 10–16.

‡Ibid., vol. v, p. 235.

and west of a line drawn due north from the head waters or sources of the Mississippi to the Territorial line, shall, for the purposes of temporary government, be and constitute a separate Territorial government by the name of Iowa . . .

The logical result of a territory is a state, and Iowa soon sought the fulfillment of its destiny. Only seven years later, on March 3, 1845, an "enabling act" was passed, which defined the northern boundary in the following words:*

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the following shall be the boundaries of the said State of Iowa, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Des Moines river, at the middle of the Mississippi, thence by the middle of the channel of that river to a parallel of latitude passing through the mouth of the Mankato, or Blue-Earth river, thence west along the said parallel of latitude to a point where it is intersected by a meridian line, seventeen degrees and thirty minutes west of the meridian of Washington city, thence due south . . .

The citizens of the new State, however, were not satisfied with the proposed boundaries, and refused to enter the Union on such terms. The constitutional convention asked for more extended territory northward, as well as favorable adjustment of the southern boundary; but Congress marked its disapproval of such proceedings by reducing, instead of enlarging, the northerly boundaries. The second enabling act was passed August 4, 1846, and described the northern boundary thus:†

Be it enacted, etc., That the following shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the boundaries of the State of Iowa, in lieu of those prescribed by the second section of the act of the third of March, eighteen hundred and forty-five . . . viz. . . . thence, up the main channel of the said Big Sioux River, according to said [Nicollet's] map, until it is intersected by the parallel of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes north latitude; thence east along said parallel of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes, until said parallel intersect the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River . . .

Minnesota's southern boundary, as thus described, was carefully surveyed and marked within six years after its acceptance by Iowa. The work was authorized March 3, 1849, and two appropriations of fifteen thousand dollars each were soon made.

*Ibid., vol. v, p. 742.

†Ibid., vol. ix. p. 52.

The survey was completed during the years 1849 to 1852 at a total cost of $32,277.73.*

Although the work was done with the best instruments then known, an error of twenty-three chains, evidently due to carelessness, was discovered with a year.

Two days after the passage of Iowa's second enabling act, Congress passed the act for the admission of Wisconsin, August 6, 1846. As usual, there had been several embryo Wisconsin enabling acts before Congress, and the question of the northwestern boundary of the new State provoked considerable discussion both in Congress and in the two constitutional conventions of Wisconsin.

In the conventions several propositions had been made and earnestly advocated. One of these was to include all the remaining part of the "Northwest Territory" in the new State. This was urged by those who wished to give Wisconsin the largest scope possible, and also by those who believed that the Ordinance of 1787 made it compulsory to limit the entire Northwest Territory to five States. And it must be admitted that the final arrangement of States is contrary to the intention of the Ordinance, if not to its letter.

Another coterie of men would run the boundary to the Rum river and thence to lake Superior. This idea obtained sufficient support to be embodied in a memorial passed by the convention and sent to Congress. But the settlers in the St. Croix valley were vigorously opposed to the proposition, and they adopted a counter-memorial that will bear quotation. It must be remembered that "Minnisota Territory" was not yet established, though a bill for that purpose had been before Congress, and that it was then expected that the new Territory would not extend west of the Mississippi. The idea of the St. Croix settlers was, therefore, to give to the State (Wisconsin) and the Territory ("Minnisota") approximately equal areas; and so another boundary line was proposed, namely, the Chippewa river. The memorial addressed to Congress by the citizens of the proposed new Territory reads as follows:†

*Senate Documents, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, 1853-54, vol. iv, Doc. No. 10.

†Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 1st Session, 30th Congress, 1847-48, No. 98; referred to the Committee on Territories, March 28, 1848.

That they have learned with surprise and anxiety that the constitutional convention of Wisconsin have passed a resolution, urging upon your honorable bodies a change of the northern boundary of the State as fixed by Congress, so as to include a large portion of country lying north of that line, and in fact as far as the mouth of Rum river, a distance of nearly sixty miles above the St. Croix. Your petitioners, being intimately concerned in the decision of this question, beg leave respectfully to protest . . . for the following reasons, to wit:

First. Wisconsin, according to the bill for its admission, will make one of the largest states of the Union. Your memorialists believe that your honorable bodies are committed against the policy of admitting new States into the confederacy which have more than a reasonable extent of territory. This was the case with Iowa, from whose northern limit, as proposed by the convention of that State, more than a degree and a half of latitude were cut off by Congress.

Secondly. Your memorialists conceive it to be the intention of your honorable bodies so to divide the present Territory of Wisconsin as to form two states nearly equal in size, as well as other respects. A line drawn due south from Shagwamigan bay, on lake Superior, to the intersection of the main Chippewa river, and from thence down the middle of said stream to its debouchure into the Mississippi, would seem to your memorialists a very proper and equitable division; which, while it would secure to Wisconsin a portion of the lake Superior shore, would also afford to Minnisota some countervailing advantages.

But if the northern line should be changed as suggested by the convention, Minnisota would not have a single point on the Mississippi below the falls of St. Anthony, which is the limit of steamboat navigation. . . . [The Rum river empties] into the Mississippi nearly twenty miles above the falls. Besides this, the Chippewa and St. Croix valleys are closely connected in geographical position with the upper Mississippi, while they are widely separated from the settled parts of Wisconsin, not only by hundreds of miles of mostly waste and barren lands, which must remain uncultivated for ages, but equally so by a diversity of interests and character in the population. The seat of government in Wisconsin is nearly four hundred miles distant from the St. Croix. . . . The county of St. Croix contains more than four thousand souls. . . . [If that county should be incorporated with Wisconsin] the prospects of Minnisota would be forlorn indeed.

. . . Your memorialists, in conclusion, pray your honorable bodies to pass a law for the organization of the Territory of Minnisota, and for extending its limits to the line designated in this their memorial.

Three hundred and forty-six names follow, including Henry H. Sibley, Alexander R. MacLeod, W. A. Cheever, H. M. Rice, Alexander Faribault, William Henry Forbes, Franklin "Steeles," William R. Marshall, etc.

The result of the controversy was a compromise adopting a middle line along the St. Croix and St. Louis rivers. This boundary was first officially described in the enabling act for the State of Wisconsin, approved August 6, 1846, which provides:*

> That the people of the Territory of Wisconsin be, and they are hereby, authorized to form a constitution and State government . . . with the following boundaries, to wit: . . . thence through the center of Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Louis River; thence up the main channel of said river to the first rapids in the same, above the Indian village, according to Nicollet's map; thence due south to the main branch of the River St. Croix; thence down the main channel of said river to the Mississippi; thence down the center of the main channel of that river to the northwest corner of the State of Illinois; thence due east . . .

This is the first, and also, rather remarkably, the final desciption of Minnesota's eastern boundary.

The convention which framed the constitution of Wisconsin, in the winter of 1847-48, incorporated in it a proposal for a different boundary between that State and Minnesota. After accepting the boundary chosen by Congress, the convention proposed a line, considerably outside of the other, which it should replace if Congress consented. The proposed boundary was described as follows:†

> Leaving the aforesaid boundary line at the first rapids of the Saint Louis River; thence in a direct line, bearing southwesterly to the mouth of the Iskodewabo or Rum River, where the same empties into the Mississippi River; thence down the main channel of the said Mississippi River, as described in the aforesaid boundary.

Upon the admission of Wisconsin to the Union as a State, May 29, 1848, a peculiar condition resulted in the St. Croix valley. Not only had a territory been cut in two, but a fully organized county had been divided, leaving much the larger part, including the county seat, outside the new state. After considerable discussion some of the leading men proposed a convention, which was held on the twenty-sixth of August, 1848. It was the action of this body which decided the name of the new Territory. But, having a complete county organization, the next step was a Territorial government, and that was soon obtained. It was claimed that the admission of the State of Wisconsin did not abolish the

*U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. ix, p. 56.

†Charters and Constitutions of the United States, Part ii, p. 2030.

Territory of Wisconsin, and so the governor of the Territory was summoned from Madison, Wis., and an election was held, on October 30, 1848, at which Henry H. Sibley was elected delegate to Congress. After some difficulty, Mr. Sibley secured his seat in Congress, January 15, 1849.

This situation of affairs hastened somewhat the passage of the act creating Minnesota Territory. It bears date of March 3, 1849, and provides the following boundaries:*

> Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act, all that part of the territory of the United States which lies within the following limits, to wit: Beginning in the Mississippi River at a point where the line of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude crosses the same, thence running due west on said line, which is the northern boundary of the State of Iowa, to the northwest corner of the said State of Iowa, thence southerly along the western boundary of said State to the point where said boundary strikes the Missouri River, thence up the middle of the main channel of the Missouri River to the mouth of the White-earth River, thence up the middle of the main channel of the White-earth River, to the boundary line between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain; thence east and south of east along the boundary line between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain to Lake Superior; thence in a straight line to the northernmost point of the State of Wisconsin in Lake Superior; thence along the western boundary line of said State of Wisconsin to the Mississippi River; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, erected into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Minnesota. . . .

The next, and last, change came in 1857 when the enabling act was passed for the admission of Minnesota to the Union. December 24, 1856, the delegate from the Territory of Minnesota introduced a bill to authorize the people of that territory to form a constitution and state government. The bill limited the proposed state on the west by the Red river of the North and the Big Sioux river. It was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, was chairman. January 31, 1857, the chairman reported a substitute, which differed from the original bill in no essential respect except in regard to the western boundary. The change there consisted in adopting a line through Traverse and Big Stone lakes, and due south from the latter to the Iowa line. The altered boundary thus cut off a nar-

*U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. ix, p. 403.

row strip of territory estimated by Mr. Grow to contain between five and six hundred square miles. Today the strip contains such towns as Sioux Falls, Watertown, and Brookings. The substitute had a stormy voyage through Congress, especially in the Senate, but finally completed the trip on February 25, 1857.

Before its passage in the Senate, Senator Jones, of Iowa, at the instance of citizens of Minnesota then in Washington, offered an amendment permitting the people of Minnesota to decide by vote whether the state should have the boundaries specified in the bill or should embrace only that portion of the Territory lying south of the forty-sixth parallel. The idea met with but little favor and was speedily rejected. It was brought forward, probably, because northern Minnesota was considered mainly a wilderness, and of little value to the settled southern half, while it might require lavish expenditure to defend the northern frontier against foreign enemies.

The enabling act, as finally passed and approved February 26, 1857, defined the boundaries of Minnesota as follows:*

Be it enacted, etc., That the inhabitants of that portion of the Territory of Minnesota which is embraced within the following limits, to wit: Beginning at the point in the centre of the main channel of the Red River of the North, where the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions crosses the same; thence up the main channel of said river to that of the Bois des Sioux River; thence [up] the main channel of said river to Lake Travers; thence up the centre of said lake to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line to the head of Big Stone Lake; thence through its centre to its outlet; thence by a due south line to the north line of the State of Iowa; thence east along the northern boundary of said State to the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence up the main channel of said river, and following the boundary line of the State of Wisconsin, until the same intersects the Saint Louis River; thence down said river to and through Lake Superior, on the boundary line of Wisconsin and Michigan, until it intersects the dividing line between the United States and the British possessions; thence up Pigeon River, and following said dividing line to the place of beginning—be and they are hereby authorized to form, for themselves a Constitution and State Government, by the name of the State of Minnesota, and to come into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, according to the federal constitution.

The foregoing boundary was accepted without change, and without a desire for change, by the constitutional convention of Minnesota, and has remained unaltered to the present day.

*U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. xi, p. 166.

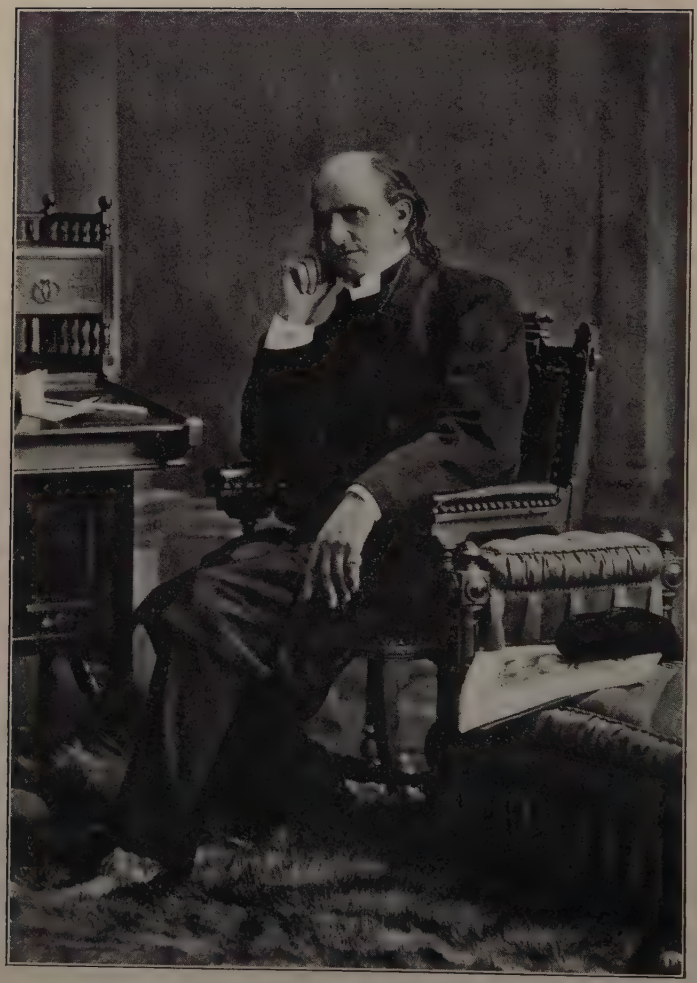
One attempt to change it, at least for a time, was made in 1861. Senator Henry M. Rice, of Minnesota, proposed, as an expedient to quiet the slavery agitation, to immediately divide all the territory of the United States into states equally pro-slavery and anti-slavery. He introduced a resolution with this object, on January 16, 1861, which would create some states and enlarge others, one of its provisions being as follows:*

> Third, an enlargement of the jurisdiction of Minnesota, to embrace the proposed Territory of Dakota and the portion of Nebraska which lies north of latitude forty-three degrees.

The resolution met with no support, and no action was taken.

Thus has time wrought great changes. For thousands of years any considerable change in the boundaries of a state meant war, sometimes to extermination, and even the maintenance of boundaries often called forth armed hosts. But since 1787 great commonwealths have grown up all over this broad land, and the history of their domestic boundaries is as peaceful and prosaic as the one which closes here.

*Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 2d Session, 36th Congress, 1860-61, No. 11.



H. B. Whipple
Bishop of Minnesota

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF BISHOP HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE, AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 14, 1901.

THE WORK OF BISHOP WHIPPLE IN MISSIONS FOR THE INDIANS.

BY HON. CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

Gentlemen of the Executive Council of the Historical Society: I have been honored by an invitation to say a few words on the subject of the late Bishop Whipple, in regard to his mission work for the Indians. While I am glad of the opportunity of adding anything to the admirable record of that pure and noble man, I feel my inability to do him justice, never having had any very close relations with the church he represented, or in fact with any other. I can recall only two circumstances that afford any justification for my saying a word on the subject. In the first place, I have known Bishop Whipple perhaps longer than any other man in our State, and, secondly, I have had a good deal of experience and contact with the Indians of the Northwest.

I first became acquainted with Bishop Whipple when he was a young clergyman in charge of the Zion Church in Rome, New York, about the year 1849. I was residing in the same county, and became quite in touch with him through a brother of mine, who was a young doctor in the same place. One of them ministered to the spiritual, and the other to the physical wants of the multitude of poor inhabitants of that locality; the work was purely missionary.

In 1856 he was called to Chicago, and established the Free Church of the Holy Communion, where he remained until he was chosen Bishop of Minnesota in the year 1859.

Up to the time that Mr. Whipple went to Chicago, the Episcopal Church did not reach the poor as closely as other Protestant denominations, and free churches of that faith were practically unknown. It was for the purpose of reaching this class

that the young divine made his church free, his support coming entirely from the free offerings of the people. Chicago then had among its people many railroad men whom he desired especially to cultivate. He visited every shop, saloon, and factory in the city, personally, and left invitations to attend his services; and he went so far as to study books on the structure and workings of the steam engine, in order to become *en rapport* with the railroad operatives. His efforts on these lines were eminently successful and gained for him, as a missionary worker, a fame which extended far and wide, and which ultimately became the most prominent factor in securing his election to the bishopric of Minnesota.

Prior to 1859, Minnesota was part of the Diocese of Wisconsin, presided over by Bishop Kemper. This venerable man of God used occasionally to visit this part of his domains and minister to the spiritual wants of his people. The first time I remember attending his services was in the early fifties, at St. Peter, in the unfinished "shack" of Captain Dodd, when there was but one Episcopalian within one hundred miles and the congregation all wore moccasins. This condition of things was fairly representative of all of Minnesota outside of St. Paul and St. Anthony. I mention these things to show that, at the advent of Bishop Whipple in 1859, he found a splendid missionary field awaiting him, particularly adapted to his inclinations, experience, and cultivated talents in that line of work.

I remember very well when the convention was called in 1859, to meet in St. Paul to elect a bishop for the new diocese. It was composed of two Houses—the clergy and the laity—which had to concur in the choice. Any clergyman of the Church was eligible to the position. Dr. Paterson and Dr. Van Ingen, both of St. Paul, were the two oldest Episcopal clergymen in the state. The former represented the lower town, and the latter the upper town, and they were both logical candidates for the office of bishop. When the voting commenced the Rev. John Ireland Tucker of Troy, N. Y., developed considerable strength, and others were voted for, but no one received the requisite number of votes for election. On each ballot, Henry B. Whipple, of Chicago, received one vote. No one seemed to know much about him, until Dr. Paterson, having become satisfied that he himself

would not be the choice of the convention, announced the peculiar characteristics of Mr. Whipple, which made him a desirable candidate, and laid especial stress upon his missionary work in Chicago. The result was his election, and thus Minnesota secured the best man for the position to be found in the entire Church in America. As near as it is possible to ascertain at this remote date, the delegate who cast the one vote for Whipple, which introduced him, was General N. J. T. Dana of St. Paul. Dr. Paterson had no personal acquaintance with Mr. Whipple, but in passing through Chicago shortly before the Minnesota Convention, he had been told of his missionary work in that city by the Rev. John W. Clark, who advised him to vote for Mr. Whipple for bishop.

Bishop Whipple was consecrated October 10th, 1859, at Richmond, Virginia, at a great convocation of Episcopal dignitaries, assembled at St. James' Church, and presided over by Bishop Kemper of Wisconsin.

As I have stated, Minnesota presented a splendid field for missionary work when Bishop Whipple took possession, even had there been no Indians among its population. But this element was all that was needed to call into action the strongest characteristics of the Bishop's mind and nature. Here was a people numbering about seventeen thousand souls, 8,000 Sioux, 7,800 Ojibways, and 1,500 Winnebagoes. They were absolutely heathen, with a very few exceptions. Much work had been done for them by missionaries in their attempts to Christianize them, but, so far as I am able to judge, without much substantial result.

I have always had serious doubts whether any full-blooded Indian, who had attained the age of manhood before receiving Christian ministration, ever fully comprehended the basic principles of Christianity. In support of this opinion, I will relate a circumstance which occurred at my agency when I had charge of the Sioux of the Mississippi. The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions had established an extensive mission at the Yellow Medicine river in this country, among the Sioux. It was conducted by the Rev. Dr's. Riggs and Williamson in the most approved manner of missions at that date, which embraced all the experience of a long series of years. To the mission was attached a civil government among the Indians, with a written constitution and officers of their own selection,

which was a potent factor in the teaching of Christianity. They had a beautiful little church with a steeple on it, and in it hung the first bell that was ever brought within our limits. The missionaries had given a biblical name to all the principal members, such as John, Paul, Peter, and Simon, and things both in the Church and the Republic were progressing swimmingly, when, to the horror of the good missionaries, Simon, one of their most intelligent and zealous members, announced that an Indian had arrived from the Missouri, who about eight years before had killed his cousin, and he felt it was his duty to kill him in return. The missionaries pleaded with Simon, prayed with him, and exhausted every means in their power to show him the awfulness of the crime he proposed to commit. Simon acquiesced in all they said and did, but always concluded with the remark, "But he killed my cousin and I must kill him." So deeply had this law of revenge become incorporated into his very nature, that all the teachings of Christianity could not eradicate it. He took a double-barrelled shot gun and killed his enemy. Simon was ever afterward quite as good a church member as he had previously been. He was one of the Bishop's special favorites, and performed many acts of friendship to the whites in the trying times of 1862. If he ever became truly converted, it was through the wonderfully persuasive efforts of the Bishop, who seemed to be able to perform miracles in that direction.

Whether my doubts about the true efficacy of the Christian religion ever penetrating the heart of an Indian, be well founded or not, is of very little importance to anyone but the Indian; and if my understanding of that mysterious power is correct, his inability to comprehend its teachings would not militate against his salvation. One thing I can confidently assert, and that is that very many of the Indians who professed Christianity became exemplary citizens, proving their sincerity by lives of devotion to the whites and the performance of many good works.

Missions had existed among the Indians of the Northwest many years before the arrival of the Bishop. They had been established as early as 1820 at Mackinac and La Pointe, and extended west with the growth of the fur trade and exploration. They were located at Fort Snelling, Sandy lake, Leech lake, Red lake, Lac qui Parle, Traverse des Sioux, lake Calhoun, Kaposia,

Shakopee, Yellow Medicine, and other points, both in the Sioux and Ojibway country; and history hands down to us many honored names of men and women who devoted their lives to the cause of Christianizing the Indians. Prominent among these good, self-sacrificing people, are the names of Morse, the father of the great inventor of the telegraph, Ayer, Boutwell, who coined the word "Itasca," Terry, Williamson, Pond, Riggs, and Adams, who with his wife is still a citizen of St. Paul, and about the only remaining reliable authority on the Sioux language. Another honored missionary was Father Galtier, who erected the little Catholic chapel on the bluff and called it "St. Paul," thus naming our capital city, which up to that time had been called "Pig's Eye." There were many others to whom the present generation of whites is deeply indebted for the good work they did in the early days.

Success in missionary work, and especially among savages, depends very much upon the personality of the missionary. One man might talk and teach theology forever and never gain a convert, while another could endear himself to his pupils in a short time and impress upon them the value of his teachings with hardly an effort. I think Bishop Whipple was the best equipped missionary I ever knew, and I have lived with and studied them quite extensively. He captured everybody he came in contact with, and made them his firm and devoted friends. He was generous, zealous to a fault in his work, and absolutely sincere and truthful in all his teachings and dealings with the Indians. He was called by them "Straight Tongue," in distinction from "Forked Tongue," a name they apply to all liars.

The field presented by this horde of unenlightened people was just what the Bishop had sought during all his life, and it opened up to him a most attractive arena for his life work. He entered upon it with all the zeal and activity of his ardent nature, and, while diligently caring for his white parishioners, he soon planted his seed in this promising ground, with great hope of reaping a rich harvest. His labors were principally among the Ojibways, although he gave much care and bestowed much labor upon the Sioux, and I can truthfully say that he surrounded himself with hosts of devoted friends and followers among both these aboriginal peoples.

In speaking of his attractive personality, and the winning methods by which he gained popularity and made friends, I will relate a circumstance which occurred during the Indian war of 1862. After the battle of New Ulm, I brought away about eighty badly wounded men, and distributed them between Mankato and St. Peter, turning every available place into hospitals for their accommodation. I was hardly settled before the Bishop came up from his home in Faribault, some fifty miles away, entirely unsolicited, equipped with dressing gown, slippers, and a case of surgical instruments, and camped down among us, where he remained, caring for the sick and wounded, and praying with the dying, until the last man was provided for.

While not wishing or intending in the slightest degree to detract from the well merited fame of the many good missionaries who preceded him, I can, and cheerfully do say, that Bishop Whipple was the most successful worker among the Indians of Minnesota, of all who have served them in that capacity. I wish I had time to say all I would like to on this interesting subject. I hope we may enjoy his equal in the future; I know we will never have his superior.

BISHOP WHIPPLE AND THE SCHOOLS AT FARIBAULT.

BY REV. GEORGE C. TANNER.

At the time of the election of Bishop Whipple, the entire educational work of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota was carried on in a plain building of wood, at Faribault, one story in height, and some sixty feet in length by twenty in width, which served for a school on week days and for a chapel on Sundays.

Beneath this unpretentious roof were gathered the village children and youth of both sexes, including primary, intermediate, and high school pupils, along with some who were looking forward to the ministry. The title of the institution was the Bishop Seabury University; and its founder, the Rev. J. Loyd Breck, saw in vision, grouped around this humble beginning, the various halls of the future university.

Faribault, however, was not the place originally selected for the educational work of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota. In June, 1850, the Rev. Messrs. Breck, Wilcoxson, and Merrick, pitched their tent in the village of St. Paul, not far from where we are now assembled, and by gift and purchase secured the parcel of ground now held in trust by the Corporation of the Minnesota Church Foundation. The scope of their work was religious, eleemosynary, and educational; and foremost was the education of young men for the ministry of the Episcopal Church in this new Northwest.

By the advice of Bishop Kemper, whose missionary jurisdiction included Minnesota, theological teaching was given up for the present. At this juncture it so chanced that the self-sacrificing men of the several Christian bodies who had been laboring for several years among the Ojibways of Minnesota, had abandoned

their missions among these children of the forest, so that there was not a missionary of any name actually residing among them. The way being thus open, at the earnest request of Enmegahbowh, and by the advice of the Rev. E. G. Gear, chaplain at Fort Snelling, Mr. Breck decided, in 1852, to enter the Red Field, selecting for the site of his mission, to which he gave the name of St. Columba, a beautiful spot on the banks of Kah-ge-ash-koonse-kag, or the Lake of the Gull, not far from the present city of Brainerd.

In consequence of the Indian troubles at Leech Lake, where he had planted a second mission, Mr. Breck felt compelled to abandon this mission, as his own life and the lives of the members of his household were hourly in jeopardy. Meanwhile, the rapid development of the Territory, in consequence of the great immigration of 1856, seemed to make the time opportune to resume his original plan of educational work in the White Field. After visiting several points, the Associate Mission, a voluntary association consisting of the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck, Solon W. Manney, who was then chaplain at Fort Ripley, and E. Steele Peake, who had been left in charge of St. Columba, selected Faribault as a center for educational work. The work was not formally begun until the following May, 1858, when the Rev. Messrs. Breck and Sanford opened the first school in a temporary building.

The financial support for this educational venture came through the daily mail. The ardent enthusiasm of Mr. Breck, in planting a school in the wilds of Wisconsin in 1842, had drawn around him a circle of friends in the East, who contributed towards carrying it on. Their number had been greatly enlarged by his romantic work in the wilderness. Few have understood the art of letter writing better than the man who had earned the name of "Apostle of the Wilderness." Of good family, born, bred, and educated a gentleman, giving up the comforts and refinements of the city, renouncing the prospect of position, and choosing rather the privations of the wilds of Wisconsin, his memory is deserving a place beside the early pioneers whose names designate the spots where their feet once trod. Such a life, with its incidents of romance, could hardly fail to interest an ever widening circle of readers, and to draw out gifts for a work in the far away West.

The election of the Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple of Chicago as the first Bishop of Minnesota took place in St. Paul's Church in the city of St. Paul, June 30th, 1859. His consecration was on October 13th following, in St. James' Church, Richmond, Virginia. His first visit to Faribault was made February 18th, 1860. On Sunday, the 19th, he preached to a large and attentive congregation in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd.

On the Tuesday following, the leading citizens of Faribault called on him and invited him to make Faribault his home. A public meeting was called and a committee was appointed to wait on the Bishop and formally pledge him a residence in case he should decide to make Faribault his home. After careful advisement, and in view of the educational work already begun and the interests of the Church involved, he decided to select Faribault as his residence for the present, on the terms proposed by the committee, and it accordingly became his home from the 5th of May of that year.

The Bishop on his arrival found a university in name, no more and no less pretentious than other educational institutions in that early day. The voluntary association known as the Associate Mission had no legal status. The Rev. Mr. Breck was the head of this association, while the Rev. Mr. Manney was the instructor in theology. A separate school at Faribault received and educated promising children from the Ojibways.

The coming of the youthful Bishop, then the youngest in the Church of which he was the representative, gave a new impulse to the work. The concourse of people who recently assembled to witness the last solemn rites, at his burial, the various bodies and orders represented, show the hold he had upon the hearts of those with whom he worked.

His first act was to re-organize the work. Articles of incorporation were drawn up, and the Bishop Seabury Mission was incoporated in due form on the 22nd of May, 1860.

In order to appreciate most fully the work of Bishop Whipple, not only in Faribault, but in Minnesota, it must be borne in mind that at the time of his election the Bishop was not generally known in the Church. His pastorate at Rome, N. Y., had endeared him to his own parish. In Chicago, his mission had been to the men in the shops, and to those who dwelt in the lanes

and alleys of the growing metropolis of the West. He brought no money with him. He came to a diocese in which the wealthiest parish raised less than a thousand dollars for its rector. The Associate Mission itself was burthened with a debt heavy for that day. We shall see the difficulties he had to encounter when we add to the work at Faribault the additional fact that nearly every church in Minnesota was built in part by benefactions which passed through his hands.

To add to the difficulty of the financial problem, the Civil War broke out in less than a twelvemonth. Considerable contributions had come to the work of Mr. Breck from the South, and especially from South Carolina. The first gift for the Mission property in St. Paul was from an eminent citizen of Charleston. The breaking out of the war seriously crippled the work, and the presence of the Bishop alone could preserve and continue what had been begun. "The hour had found the man, and the man his opportunity."

Nothing daunted by the serious condition of our national affairs, the Bishop resolved not only not to curtail his work in any department, but to enlarge the field of its usefulness. The work soon outgrew the single building used for school and chapel. It was in that dark period of the year 1862 that he decided to build a church. The corner stone of this first permanent building was laid July 16th, 1862, the year of our Indian massacre. This was the first Cathedral of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota. The Bishop's own words are, "In selecting Faribault as my home, it was with the hope that there I might lay the foundations for Church schools and institutions which should glorify God long after my own stewardship had passed into other hands. The time had come to commence that work and it was proper that our first building should be the House of God."

These words breathe the spirit of our Anglo-Saxon civilization wherever it has gone. God's House has been the center of the new order. The plan was broad. The Bishop's home was to be an institutional center. "Young men were to be trained for the ministry, teachers for schools; and homes of mercy for the sick, the aged, and the destitute, were to grow up under the shadow of the church spire."

The Cathedral Church was consecrated on St. John Baptist's Day, June 24th, 1869. It seemed appropriate that the consecrator should be the venerable Bishop Kemper, the first missionary bishop and the first bishop of this Church to visit the Territory of Minnesota. Said Bishop Whipple:

> The greatest joy which has come to us is the completion of the Cathedral of our Merciful Saviour. Its corner stone was laid seven years ago. We designed it to be the center of all our diocesan work. When we had means we worked; when we had none, we waited on God in prayer. It has cost about $60,000. Most of the gifts came to us without the asking; some of the largest gifts from personal friends; some from friends we have never met; some from little children; some from aged folk; some, the last gift of the dying; and many gifts are from those who are not of our Church.

The same year in which the Cathedral was begun also witnessed the laying of the corner stone of Seabury Hall. This first stone building for educational purposes was 40 by 80 feet, and was to cost $15,000. It stood on the grounds now occupied by Shattuck School. The original plat, consisting of about ten acres, the gift of Mr. Alexander Faribault, has from time to time been enlarged by purchase, until it now includes one hundred and fifty acres, with campus and wooded walks for the use of the school.

Seabury Hall was ready for use in the fall of 1864. It was occupied by the Divinity students, and by a few boys from outside the town, who attended the Grammar School. This was the beginning of the boarding school for boys. Up to this time Divinity students had been cared for in the families of the clergy of the Mission, in which the Bishop and Mrs. Whipple were foremost. The completion of Seabury Hall marks a stage forward in the educational work of Faribault. In 1865 the Boys' department, which had been conducted in the town, was separated from the Primary, and its entire educational work was carried on at Seabury Hall.

In 1872, after the burning of Seabury Hall, it was thought best to separate the Divinity department from the Boys' School; and the following year, 1873, the present Seabury Hall was erected on its own grounds. The corner stone was laid May 24th, and the building was ready for use the same year. The

loss of the former building was seriously felt. The new building was reared in troublous times. Said the Bishop, "The panic of last year crippled all our friends, and made me feel as if the ground had gone out from under my feet;" and again, "The support of Seabury has depended very largely upon my personal efforts." In 1888, Johnson Hall, 117 by 46 feet, was added for a library and lecture rooms.

In 1867 the number of boys had so increased that a second building became necessary for Shattuck School. A temporary building of wood was also filled, and pupils had to be refused. In the spring of 1868, accordingly, a second building of stone was begun for the exclusive use of the Grammar School. The name Shattuck was given to this building in honor of Dr. George C. Shattuck of Boston, " whose generosity," says the Bishop, "enabled me to begin this work." The name Shattuck, originally applied to a single building, has been extended to the entire school. Shattuck Hall was ready for occupancy about Christmas, 1868, and, along with Seabury Hall, adjacent, could accommodate about seventy boarders.

The military feature of Shattuck was one of those incidental facts which so often shape the future of an institution. Among the early students of the Mission was one T. G. Crump, who had enlisted in the Civil War, and gained some knowledge of military tactics. For pastime, as much as for any reason, young Crump had formed the pupils of the school into a military organization. Such was his success that when the regulation was passed by Congress allowing each State to have an army officer to teach military science, Bishop Whipple at once made application to the War Department to secure the appointment for Shattuck School. Major Latimer, of the U. S. Army, was accordingly detailed to this duty, and in 1870 the School received a grant of 120 stand of arms and two field pieces.

During his stay in Nice in southern Europe in the winter of 1869-70, the Bishop met Mrs. Augusta M. Shumway, whom he had already known while rector of the Church of the Holy Communion in Chicago. Mrs. Shumway became greatly interested in the Bishop's work in Minnesota, and especially in Shattuck School. She therefore decided to build a Memorial Chapel for the religious services of the boys in memory of a little daughter. The corner stone of the Memorial Chapel of the

Good Shepherd was laid by the Bishop June 21st, 1871. In the autumn of this year occurred the great fire of Chicago, in which Mrs. Shumway, in common with others, suffered great loss. Nothing daunted, she gave orders that the work should proceed, and the beautiful Memorial Chapel, erected at a cost of nearly $30,000, including its furnishings, was consecrated September 24th, 1872. As a school chapel, there is none finer in America. Its architecture is faultless, and no expense was spared by the donor to make it complete in all its arrangements.

The sudden death of Mrs. Shumway (then Mrs. Huntington), in 1884, revealed the fact that she had bequeathed a munificent sum to Shattuck School, a part of which was to be used for the erection of a building for the work of the school, a part to be used for scholarships for deserving students, and a third part of the erection of a building for a library and lecture rooms in connection with Seabury Divinity School. This noble benefaction has been applied to the uses intended, and is an enduring monument to her memory. Shumway Hall was completed and ready for use in September, 1887, and contains a study hall, recitation rooms, and offices, in which the work of the School is carried on.

Among the friends of Bishop Whipple, and a benefactor of the School, should be named Mr. Junius Morgan of New York, father of J. Pierpont Morgan, through whose liberality Morgan Hall has been erected. This building is about 40 by 80 feet, two stories in height, the first floor being used entire for a dining room, and the second story for dormitories. Coming at a time when the school had outgrown its former dining room, as well as other school arrangements, Morgan and Shumway Halls complete the necessary furnishings for the work of the school in a satisfactory manner. To this may be added Smyser Hall, in memory of James Smyser, a former graduate, which, with Phelps Cottage, and the Lodge, for dormitories, and a residence for the commandant and two of the professors, and a drill hall, completes the present system of buildings for Shattuck School.

I have reserved for the last the mention of Saint Mary's Hall as a work which was very near the heart of the Bishop and which engaged his personal attention more, perhaps, than any other in this group of schools, of which he was the founder and for thirty-five years the head and rector. Seeing the need for a

school for girls which should so combine refining influences with a high degree of culture and scholarship as to preclude the necessity of sending daughters farther from home, in 1866 the Bishop decided to open a school in his own house. This was wholly a private enterprise. The financial burden was borne by the Bishop alone. Mrs. Whipple was the house-mother. The school opened November 1st, 1866, with thirty-three pupils under three teachers. Miss S. P. Darlington, a daughter of Dr. Darlington of Pennsylvania, who had come to Minnesota for her health, was the first principal. She was a rare woman in the qualities which go to make up the successful head of a boarding school. With the exception of one year, she continued to hold this position until her death in 1881. "Thoroughly identified with the interests of the school, pure of heart, gentle by impulse, refined by nature, superior in intellect, upright in example, and diligent in all things," she impressed her character upon Saint Mary's Hall; and her influence for good is still felt, while her name is revered for all that is excellent in true womanhood.

From 1866 to 1882 Saint Mary's Hall was carried on beneath the Bishop's own roof, and under his own eye and that of his excellent wife. This period embraces nearly one half of the life of the school, during which the daughters of Saint Mary's were guided by his loving advice and ministrations. For six years the Bishop alone was the responsible financial head. From time to time at his own expense the Hall had been enlarged until it became a group of buildings. The cost of carrying on the school, the wages of the teachers,—in short, everything,—was provided by the Bishop. At times he carried a heavy indebtedness. Few men would have dared to face such a financial problem. And even after its incorporation in 1872, while the Board of Trustees were the advisers of the Bishop, he was none the less the man to whom teachers and the public looked as the responsible financial head.

On the afternoon of Monday, June 19th, 1882, the corner stone of the new Saint Mary's Hall was laid by Bishop Whipple with the usual ceremonies. In his address the Bishop said:

> Sixteen years ago there came to me as the voice of God the thought that our Schools would lose their rarest beauty unless we had a Hall to train and mould into perfectness Christian womanhood. Our other work

was in its infancy, halls to be builded, a library to be gathered, professorships to be founded, and a hundred ways for every dollar given. I did not ask counsel, save of the best of all counselors, a Christian wife. We settled it that our home should be the new Saint Mary's Hall.

It seems as yesterday when we began our work. The school has to-day many hundred daughters. I hear of them everywhere: loving children in happy homes, Christian wives and mothers, gentle women ministering to sorrow,—they have overpaid me an hundred fold for every care.

To-day we reach another way mark in our history. The school has outgrown its present home. We need a fairer, nobler building adapted to its work. To build this Hall seems a larger venture than we have yet made.

I take it that it is an auspicious prophecy that three-fourths of the cost to enclose this noble building has been the gift of women, and I should wrong my brothers' hearts if I doubted that they would complete a work so well begun.

It may seem invidious to name some to the exclusion of others who assisted the Bishop in this enterprise which lay so near his heart. We may venture to speak of Mr. Robert M. Mason of Boston who visited Faribault, looked over the plans of the schools, and was a generous helper in rearing Saint Mary's Hall.

It is due the memory of the Bishop to put on record his own words in regard to Saint Mary's.

Ours will never be a fashionable school, where the daughters of the rich can gain a few showy accomplishments. We believe in honest work, in broad foundations on which may be reared the completeness of the finished temple. In a life hallowed by daily prayer, we shall try to train up our daughters for the blessedness of a life of usefulness here and the joy and bliss of Heaven hereafter.

The graceful tribute which the Bishop paid to those under him is one of the delightful traits of his personal character. Speaking of the Rev. Mr. Mills, the first chaplain of Saint Mary's Hall, he uses words no less loving than he used in memory of his own brother: "Providence sent us the right man for a Chaplain, to whom Saint Mary's Hall is indebted for the great success it has attained." And again of Miss Darlington he said, "It was her ripe forethought and Christian devotion which placed our venture of faith among the foremost schools of the land." And again, "God mercifully prolonged her life until the childhood of her work was passed and she saw in it the beauty of cultured womanhood." Indeed it was this charm of simplicity

with which the Bishop often put aside any glory which might come to him that so added to the beauty of his character and won for him the enthusiasm of those who labored for him, and with him, and under him, an enthusiasm so ardent and glowing that for many years the clergy in their hard and trying fields of labor made no changes, but bore poverty and penury because they loved their Bishop.

There is another school which owes its continuance, if not its existence, in no small degree to Bishop Whipple,—the school at Wilder on the Omaha railway in the southwestern part of Minnesota. Indeed the Bishop founded but one school, Saint Mary's Hall. And yet the Seabury Divinity School, and Shattuck School, as well as Saint Mary's, would not be in existence today but for the Bishop. The buildings were erected largely by his personal friends, and the endowments came from them. Who these were, in many instances, he has told us in his "Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate."

He extended the same helping hand to the school at Wilder, named in honor of Dr. Breck. This school is the outgrowth of a plan conceived by the Rev. D. G. Gunn who came to Windom in 1880. About 1885 he began to entertain the idea of founding an industrial school, where young men could learn various trades. In short, every trade was to be taught, while the various products of their industry would find a ready market in St. Paul and Minneapolis. The enthusiasm of Mr. Gunn enlisted the interest of the Rev. E. S. Thomas, then Rector of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul. Mr. Gunn's glowing letters induced some Englishmen of liberal means to help on so admirable a work. A tract of land was donated by Messrs. Wilder and Thompson of St. Paul, and a building was begun. Very little was done by Mr. Gunn, except to commit the Church to the enterprise. The work was incorporated under the title of Breck School.

In 1889 it was leased to Mr. Eugene Rucker, assisted by Mr. Dryden and Mr. Coleman, its present head. The original plan was abandoned, and the institution became a plain school where young people of both sexes and of moderate means can obtain an academical education at small cost. Friends of Bishop Whipple have largely assisted in the work, without which it must have failed. Bishop Gilbert also took a deep interest in this

work. Among those who have aided in the enterprise is the Rev. Mr. Appleby. Whipple Hall for young men, and Hunnewil Hall for women, besides the main building, have been added, and a pretty church has been erected for the use of the school and the village. The halls can accommodate about one hundred and fifty boarders. Breck school is in close relation to our State Agricultural School, for which it prepares many young men and women. The average age of the young men is over twenty, and the students are in the main from the farm and the shop. The young women are daughters of farmers, and all are dependent upon self-help. The school is located on the high prairie about midway between Windom and Heron Lake. In 1897 Mrs. Elizabeth Cheney Hunnewil, of Owatonna, left a bequest of about $32,000 to Breck School, of which only the income is to be used for the wages of teachers.

Such is a sketch of the educational work of Bishop Whipple. No other bishop of this branch of the Church in the United States has left such a record. Four institutions of learning in an episcopate of forty-two years are a goodly heritage to us who remain. A school of theology, whose graduates are filling places of eminent usefulness in the Church, and of which he is the founder in that it could never have been what it is today save for his helping hand; Shattuck School for boys under Dr. Dobbin, his co-worker, where nearly every building is a memorial to some personal friend of the Bishop; Saint Mary's Hall, which has been from the first as his own daughter; Breck School, which cares for the class in which the Bishop has always been interested, —surely this is monument enough to the memory of a man whose personality has been felt everywhere in the Anglican Church, who had the "fascination" to interest men and women to give of their substance, and the rare wisdom to use the "ideal conditions" for the exercise of his gifts in the "opportunities" which God gives to few men.

BISHOP WHIPPLE AS A CITIZEN OF MINNESOTA.

BY HON. GREENLEAF CLARK.

I am to speak of Bishop Whipple as a citizen of Minnesota. If the subject were narrower I should know better what to say in five or ten minutes. I must perforce generalize, and can make but little mention of specific facts. A man's citizenship is made up of his relations with his fellowmen, and its quality depends upon how he comports himself among them; upon what he does among, with, and for his neighbors, using the latter term in the broad scriptural sense.

A very notable feature of the Bishop's citizenship was its wide scope as respects the sorts and conditions of men with whom he came in contact. It reached all the way from the uncivilized Indian to the kings and potentates of the earth. He came from Chicago to Minnesota to enter upon the duties of his episcopate in the fall of 1859, and he had not been in the State two months, before he visited the Indians in their wigwams. From that day to the day of his death he never ceased his labors among and for the Indians, to civilize and Christianize them, and to prepare them for the changed conditions which the encroachment of the new civilization rendered inevitable.

His labors were of two kinds, and in each kind were notable. He visited the Indian in person, before there were any railroads in the State, and when wagon roads were limited in extent, and poor in construction and bridging. He travelled across the plains and through the desert in carriages, on foot, on horseback, in canoes, through heat and cold, in sunshine and storm and blizzard, camping by the way, or accommodated in the primitive houses of hardy, venturesome, and scattered pioneers, who always received him with generous hospitality and shared their scanty comforts with him. He talked to, counseled with, and taught

the Indians in their wigwams and camps, through interpreters, and later in their own language. He was a man of fine physique, six feet and two inches tall, of commanding presence, and of kindly manners, and he won the ear and confidence of the Indians to an encouraging extent. He supplemented his own labors with missionaries and teachers sent to them, some of whom were educated in his schools for the purpose. So intimate was his touch with the red men in their camps, and the results were substantial and beneficial.

The other kind of effort for the Indians was no less notable. It consisted of published letters and statements designed to mould public opinion on the Indian question, and of communications addressed to the Federal authorities, which were supplemented by his personal efforts at Washington. He knew every president from Jackson down, and all quite well from Lincoln down, and he labored with them for justice to the Indian.

He maintained before the public, and at Washington, that the Indian policy was a mistaken one from the start; that the tribes should not be treated as independent sovereignties, nor treaties made with them as such; that the untutored child of the desert and plain should not be compelled to cope with the authorities of a civilized nation in making treaties; that they should be treated as the wards of the Government, and cared for accordingly, and he referred to the Canadian Indians and their lives of peace as an example of such a policy. He told the authorities at Washington fearlessly, and in good set terms, that the stipulations in Indian treaties had not been performed; that what was the Indian's by treaty stipulations was largely diverted from him by the greed and rapacity of the white men; that the stipulated annuities had not been promptly paid, and that large portions of them had been filched from the Indians on one pretext and another. He told them that the Indians were dissatisfied, disappointed, and hungry, and were becoming sullen, morose, and dangerous. In a word he told them plainly that the Indians had been deprived of their hunting grounds, so that they could no longer live by the chase, and that they had not been given bread and meat in exchange, nor the means of obtaining them, and that he feared we were "to reap in anguish the harvest we had sowed;" that "where robbery and wrong are the seed, blood will

be the harvest." He was "straight tongue" in Washington, as well as in the camps and councils of the Indians. The President and the heads of the departments were sympathetic, and did what they could to alleviate the wrongs of a vicious system (which Congress alone could change) and to prevent the corrupt practices under it; and some amelioration was accomplished through the non-political appointment of agents, and the Peace Commission, of which I have no doubt that General Sanborn will speak.

Bishop Whipple was the friend and neighbor of the young. What he did for the education of the boys and girls of the State, and of the Indian youth and missionaries in his schools at Faribault, has been told by another. Suffice it to say that the results of his efforts were far-reaching and valuable. He was the friend of the University, and of education generally; and the State has received, and will continue to receive, now that he has gone, the beneficent influence of his labors in this regard.

He was the neighbor of the unfortunate, defective and stricken ones of the State; and the schools at Faribault for the deaf, dumb, blind, and feeble-minded, had the help of his sympathetic influence and cordial co-operation and support.

He was the friend of the soldiers enlisted in the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, and he visited them. He held service for the First Regiment at Fort Snelling, and was elected its chaplain, which he declined, being held at home by the duties of his episcopate. He held service for the First Regiment again after the battle of Antietam, and in 1864 in the camps of Generals McClellan and Meade, at their request, on the banks of the Potomac.

I cannot speak of the general administration of his episcopate further than to say that it developed the qualities of a statesman, in the healing of all dissensions, and in the educating and bringing into it a body of able co-workers, eight of whom went from his diocese to assume the control of other sees, and that he personally visited all parts of the State and held services and confirmations in all of his churches, and that he was constant in pointing men home to God and in leading the way. But whatever the results of his efforts in preparing his people for immortality, of which we can have no ken, I say without fear of con-

tradiction that hundreds of *mortal* lives of men, women, and children were saved in the great massacre of 1862 by the Indians who had been educated, civilized, and Christianized through his personal efforts and the instrumentalities which he put in motion.

Bishop Whipple's citizenship was also notable for its cosmopolitan character. He frequently visited the eastern states, where he held many services, made many addresses, became widely known and was universally honored and esteemed. He was listened to with especial interest when he spoke of the Indians in his diocese, as he was frequently called upon to do.

In early life he was temporarily in charge of a church in St. Augustine, and in his later years, from considerations of health, he spent all or a part of the winters at his winter home at Maitland, Florida, and during his residence there impressed his personality upon considerable portions of the south.

More than once he visited England. He attended the Lambeth conferences in London, which were convocations, held triennially, of all the bishops of the Anglican Church throughout the world. He was received with distinguished attention. He held services at Cambridge and Oxford, and at Windsor where the Queen was an auditor, and he had a personal interview with her at the castle at her request. He told in England, as he did in America, the story of the Indians who inhabited his diocese of Minnesota when he took it; of their character and habits, of their wrongs and massacres, of his missions among them and their results, and of the efforts made for the amelioration of their condition; and his personal connection with these matters brought him honor and distinction. He could not well tell this story in America or England without dwelling upon the goodly heritage of which the Indians were dispossessed by the advancing tide of civilization, and so he spread wide the knowledge of the resources, capabilities, and beauties of Minnesota, both at home and abroad. He was the widest known prelate of the Protestant church in Minnesota, and, perhaps I may add, as widely known as any in the United States, and he spread the knowledge of the State accordingly.

Bishop Whipple led what President Roosevelt has been pleased to call the "strenuous life." While his strength lasted, he was unremitting in his labors upon the lines I have indicated, and

when, under the burden of years, his strength began to fail, he gave to the same objects the remainder of his strength. He was a man of admirable courage and persistency. When things looked dark he did not quail or lie down. He worked on and waited for the dawn. He was an optimist and never a pessimist. Hope abided with him amid all discouragements.

Even in the shadow of the awful massacre of 1862, he maintained in public papers and communications that it was the result of a pernicious system, fraudulently administered, and he pleaded for its reformation. He did not for a moment excuse the savage slaughter, but he did stoutly maintain that it came because the Indians had been stirred to frenzy by their wrongs. For this he was abused and even threatened, but he disregarded both abuse and threats; and detraction ne'er lit on him to stay, for there was none to believe it.

In my view the one notable labor in his life work, which overshadowed the rest and should keep his memory green, is his untiring persistent work for the amelioration of the lot of the Indian. Well, what kind of a citizen was Bishop Whipple?

"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise," if the earnest pursuit and inculcation of these things make a good citizen, then surely Bishop Whipple was among the best of citizens.

BISHOP WHIPPLE AS A MEDIATOR FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIANS IN TREATIES.

BY GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN.

No words and no eulogy can add aught to the reputation and fame of Bishop Whipple. His life and labors were an open book known and read of all men. He was necessarily brought into contact with the Sioux and Ojibway tribes of Indians in his church work in Minnesota. The Ojibways, or Chippewas, inhabited all northern Minnesota, and the bands of the Sioux that had inhabited all the southern part were still living in western Minnesota, or in the territory immediately adjacent thereto, when he became bishop.

His natural disposition seemed to accord thoroughly with his duties as bishop, to do all that he possibly could for the improvement and civilization of all these people. All his energies, his best judgment, and his greatest zeal, were devoted to this part of his work. He labored with all the officials of the government connected with the Indian service, from Indian Agent to President, and with the Indians themselves, to improve their condition mentally, morally, and physically. To accomplish this he spared no effort, he shrank from no danger, whether he was threatened from hostile foes, rigorous climate, hunger, or disease. He early became known among the Indians as their true friend, one who was trying to benefit and improve them, and to alleviate their condition; and this gave him an immense influence among all the savage tribes with whom he was brought into contact. There are no halfway friendships among the Indians. With them all is confidence or all distrust.

As early as the year 1862 he had attained to a position of greater influence both with the Sioux and Ojibway nations than any missionary that had preceded him, and I believe greater than any other white man with whom the Indians had been brought in contact. He had made himself familiar to a degree with their habits, thoughts, and feelings, both respecting their white neigh-

bors and with reference to the schisms and divisions and conflicts among themselves. This enabled him to know, at once, when the outbreak and massacre of 1862 occurred, what band and portion of the Sioux nation originated it, and who were really the guilty parties, and he immediately used all his influence to segregate those really innocent from the guilty.

Where Indians had formed in battle array and resisted the soldiers of the army, and had fired in an attack or defense, if one was arraigned before the military commission, he was convicted of the specific crimes with which he was charged, and of having participated in the outbreak. This deprived him of the defense that his nation had gone to war and that he had been compelled to enter its military service by superior force, and had done nothing in violation of the laws of war; and nearly four hundred Indians, some of whom were members, and I believe officers, of the church, were found guilty and sentenced to be hung, under this rule.

The public sentiment of the people of the State resulting from the terrible massacre was so aroused that the death and destruction of all the Indians would have been received with favor, and anyone interposing in their behalf brought upon himself, for the time being, obloquy and contempt. Notwithstanding this, Bishop Whipple did not fail to make a strenuous effort in behalf of all the Indians who were not really guilty of a crime, although found guilty by a military commission, and although the finding had been approved by his old friend, the District Commander. These cases required the approval of the President of the United States before sentence could be executed. He presented their cases to Mr. Lincoln, then president. Of course, a people who could make a treaty could break it at will and go to war, and no offense could be committed until the laws of war were violated. This reasoning led to reducing the number of Indians that were to be put to death from nearly 400 to 39.

Bishop Whipple made great efforts and used his utmost influence toward locating all the Indians upon agricultural reservations, and toward inducing them to adopt and pursue a pastoral or agricultural life. Much that was accomplished in this respect was suggested and set in motion in the first instance by the Bishop. To accomplish this, he visited the Commission appointed by and under an act of Congress, passed in 1867, which was em-

powered to make new treaties with all the Indian bands and tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. At this time the game on which the Indians had relied for support was diminishing rapidly. They had been accustomed to exchange their furs for the goods and supplies purchased by the Indian agents with the money appropriated by Congress for the Indians. Under the changed conditions they were in danger of absolute starvation.

The Bishop accordingly made the most strenuous efforts to get the appropriations by Congress for the support of the Indians doubled, which was accomplished by making provisions therefor in the new treaties. At the same time this Commission was induced to provide for a Board of military officers to inspect the supplies purchased by the government agents when purchased, and also at the time of their issue to the Indians. There was the farther provision for an unpaid commission of philanthropists, with power to inspect and supervise the whole Indian service, and to report at any time to the President or other high officers of the government; so that the unexampled benevolence and generosity of the people of the United States could reach the Indians, and they could receive the intended benefit therefrom.

The greatest difficulty that had existed from the earliest contact with the Indian tribes had been in the failure, on the part of the executive department of the government, to provide the Indians with the supplies and provisions that the treaties and laws set apart for them, which in nearly all instances were ample for their support and comfort. With those evils remedied, and the Indians located on agricultural reservations, and provision made for the education of all Indian children, it seemed that the Indian problem was solved and the way to their civilization and Christianization absolutely secured.

Their condition, and the result that he aimed at for them, Bishop Whipple kept constantly before his mind and labored in season and out of season to work out this problem by securing proper provisions in the treaties and in the laws passed from year to year by Congress. At the same time, whenever the Indians had been deprived of their natural or legal rights, he used all his influence and power to restore them, or to secure to them indemnification. No people ever had a truer or better friend, or a friend exerting so good and great an influence for their welfare, as the Indians of the Northwest had in Bishop Whipple.

THE WORK OF BISHOP WHIPPLE FOR THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY REV. WILLIAM C. POPE.

Mr. President: "The powers that be are ordained of God," and those occupying civil offices receive much honor, and ought, properly, to receive more than they do. Nevertheless a bishop has certain advantages over state officials. He does not contribute to a campaign fund. He is not a candidate for office.

My revered diocesan, of whom it is my great privilege to speak, was ignorant that he was thought of in connection with Minnesota, until a brother clergyman in Chicago threw his arms around his neck, exclaiming, "My dear brother, you have been elected Bishop of Minnesota." In the episcopal office there is no trouble about the second term. Had Bishop Whipple lived until yesterday, his term of office would have been forty-two years. In the Church there is no opposition party whose chief business is to show how unfit those holding office are for the positions they occupy.

If ever a man was called of God to an office, Henry Benjamin Whipple was so called to be a Bishop in the Church of God in Minnesota. Not only does the manner of his election testify to this, but also the suitableness of the man to the position. "Why was it," I asked Dr. Folwell, "that the Bishop was in touch with all conditions of men, with statesmen, financiers, soldiers, workmen, Indians, and Negroes?" The answer was as beautiful as true: "He had influence with men because he loved them."

His missionary journeys were largely made with his own horses. They were a fine pair of blacks, one of which, Bashaw by name, a cousin to Patchen, was his special favorite, on account of his intelligence. The Bishop was once lost in a snowstorm be-

tween New Ulm and Fort Ridgely. He said his prayers, got under the buffalo robes, and let his horses take their own course. After travelling for some time, there was a sudden halt,—the horses had struck a trail. Then the Bishop saw a light in the house of the missionary who was expecting him.

He used to say that he had slept with every clergyman in his diocese. My experience is that he had the lion's share of the bed.

On going to a border town, a man told him that there were to be lively times that night. An infidel had been lecturing there during the week, who was going to have something to say to him. After he finished his sermon that evening, a man came forward and said, "Bishop, does your church believe in hell?"

The Bishop was as good at answering with a story as Abraham Lincoln, and had had much experience with the negroes. So he told a story. "A devout negro slave had a young niece who seemed determined to go wrong. One evening the child came bounding into the cabin from some scoffers' gathering, and exclaimed, "Aunty, I'se done gwine to b'lieve in hell no more. If dere done be any hell, I'se like ter know whar dey gits de brimstone fur it." The old aunty turned her eyes sorrowfully upon the girl, and answered, with tears running down her cheeks, "Oh, honey darling, look dat ye doesn't go dere! You done find dey all takes their own brimstone wid 'em."

In his preaching he seemed constantly anxious to strengthen those weak in the faith. He used to tell of a man who for years read everything he could against Christianity, but there were three things which prevented him from becoming an infidel. "First," said he, "I am a man. I am going somewhere. Tonight I am a day nearer the grave than I was last night. I have read all such books have to tell me. They shed not one solitary ray of hope or light upon the darkness. They shall not take away the guide of my youth and leave me stone-blind. Second, I had a mother. I saw her going down into the dark valley where I am going, and she leaned upon an unseen Arm as calmly as a child goes to sleep on the breast of its mother. I know that was not a dream. Third, I have three motherless daughters. They have no protector but myself. I would rather kill them than leave them in this sinful world, if you blot out from it all the teachings of the Gospel."

Another point about his preaching was the great love manifested by him towards those who love the Lord Jesus Christ. He was a High Churchman, and in the early days of his episcopate a brother bishop objected to his making missionary addresses in his diocese on account of his views. Yet this is what he says in his Autobiography: "If any man has a passionate devotion to Jesus Christ, if he has a soul hunger for perishing men, if he holds the great truths of Redemption as written in the Creeds, if he preaches Jesus Christ crucified as the hope of salvation, count him as your fellow soldier."

During the Civil War he visited the Army of the Potomac three times a year. After the battle of Antietam he ministered to the wounded and dying, and had service in the camp of the First Minnesota Regiment. After the service he received a note from General McClellan, asking him to have a service of thanksgiving in his camp. He slept that night in the General's tent, and they conversed until midnight. The next day on parting the General said, "Bishop, you do not know what a comfort it is in my care-worn life to have a good talk about holy things."

To his Diocesan Council, in 1861, he said, "While for myself I stand aside for no man as truer to his country, no man shall rob my heart of the memory of other days. It was in a southern city I was consecrated as your bishop. The bishops of North and South, of East and West, stood side by side, heart beating unto heart, as they laid holy hands on my head in consecration. Where now there are only hatred and fierce passions, the tramp of soldiery, and the din of arms, there was then such love as made hearts tender as a woman's. Others may forget; I shall not, but day by day pray God that He will make us one again in love."

His prayer was heard. At the end of the war the Presiding Bishop wrote to the Southern bishops, inviting them to the General Convention which met in Philadelphia, October, 1865. Only the Bishop of North Carolina was present at the opening service, and took his seat in the congregation. During the service he was seen by some of the bishops, who went down in their robes of office and compelled him to take his place among them in the chancel. When he and the Bishop of Arkansas sent word asking on what terms they would be received in the House of Bishops, they were asked, in reply, "to trust to the love and

honor of their brethren." So the breach between North and South was healed.

Of late Bishop Whipple enjoyed the honors which came to him as the result of his participation in the stirring times of his earlier episcopate. He was several times appointed by the Government as a Commissioner on Indian affairs.

He was one of the trustees of the Peabody Fund for education in the South.

At the last meeting of the Anglican bishops in England, he was the senior American bishop, and as such was treated with honors due to the Presiding Bishop. The Queen received him at a private audience, when she presented him with her portrait and book. The three Universities, Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, conferred degrees on him. He was the preacher on greatest occasions. Personally, he was treated with unsurpassed regard. Bishop Morehouse, of Manchester, spoke of him as the chief authority on missions among the bishops. "Who do you think is the best beloved bishop in England?" said the archbishop of Canterbury. "Your Grace," replied Miss Carter. "No," said archbishop Benson, "It is the Bishop of Minnesota."

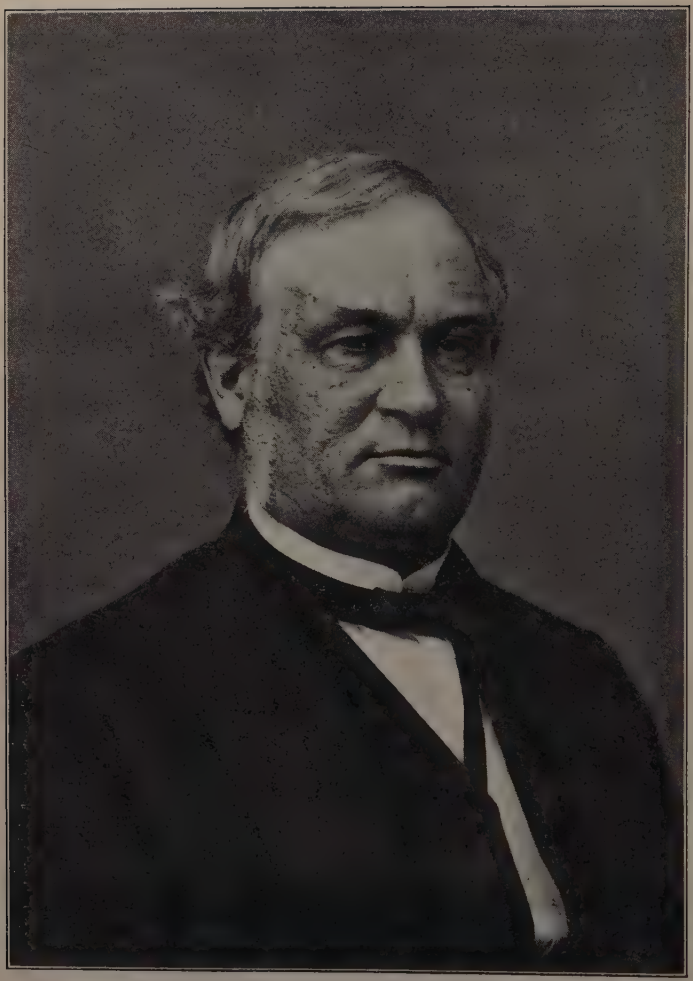
His body now sleeps in the crypt of his cathedral, and over it is to be erected a marble altar. His spirit—for Christians think more of the spirits of the blessed departed than of their bodies—his spirit, in Paradise, has entered into the joy of his Lord. A year ago he said to me, "When you get to Paradise, you will know how much I loved you." Now I am drawn, as by other forces, so also "with cords of a man, with bands of love," to the farther shore, to acquire a fuller knowledge of the regard with which my Bishop honored me.

Gladly, if it were proper, would I read you extracts from his letters, in order that you might learn something of the graciousness of the man. But it cannot be told any more than the odor of a rose can be described, it must be experienced in order to be known. Yet I will venture to read a passage from one of his letters, because it will be a revelation to you as it was to me. He has left an undying memorial of himself in the institutions at Faribault. Did they come into existence by the touch of a fairy's wand, or was his as the word of God, which spake and it was done? No, they are the witnesses of his soul's agony. "Of

course," he wrote, within a year of his death, "I will pray for you, because the Lord loves you as you have loved his work. I know, better than you can, the heartache in trying to raise money for the Church's work."

As our bishops multiply in this state, they will be called after the cities in which they reside. Bishop Whipple long ago stipulated that his title should always remain "The Bishop of Minnesota;" and so, in addition to his name, he has of late years always signed himself.

Therefore, Honored Sir, may I be allowed, in behalf of the Episcopal Church, to thank you and the Historical Society for the honor you have, in this Memorial Meeting, conferred on the memory of Henry Benjamin Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota.



Alex. Ramsey

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. X. PLATE XVII.

From a Photograph taken in 1865.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY, AT MEETINGS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., SEPTEMBER 3 AND 14, 1903.

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

A Memorial Eulogy, delivered before the Minnesota Historical Society in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol, Thursday Evening, September 3, 1903.

BY GEN. JAMES H. BAKER.

It is not the purpose of this address to deliver to you a biography, nor to indict an epitaph. Made, by your favor, for this memorial occasion, the organ of our Society, it is my desire to paint, as best I may, the portrait of our late distinguished President; to set his picture in the environment of his times, clothed in the characteristics of his marked individuality, and with notice of the more salient features of his achievement. Forty-four years of unbroken intimacy and friendship salute me from his grave; and this I trust will not warp my judgment, but rather the better equip me for presenting a true analysis of his character. He has already received the affectionate praises of devoted friends, and the generous voices of political opponents have celebrated his lofty character. Eulogy has exhausted her votive offerings, and I come late to glean in a field so abundantly garnered.

This busy world will not concern itself with men who are dead, unless they have largely contributed to the sum of human knowledge, or performed such signal services to humanity as give them a claim to be long remembered. There are limitations to every form of human greatness, but, within the confines of our state, I assert that Alexander Ramsey has more claims to enduring remembrance than any of her other sons.

The work he did, the influences he set in motion, are interwoven parts of the state itself. Out of chaos he organized the

territory into official forms, and breathed into its nostrils the breath of life. You cannot recite the formative periods of our history without blending his life with the threads of our story. Like the confluence of two great streams, whose waters are lost in the commingling currents, so the state and the man were borne on together.

Alexander Ramsey appeared at the right time, and under the right conditions, for his usefulness and his fame. His education, his experience, his discipline, prior to his advent on this soil as an empire builder, were such that it would seem fate herself had prepared him for his destiny.

If characters are modified by physical scenery around them, then Ramsey was fortunate in the home of his youth. He came from the grand old state of Pennsylvania, settled by the English, the Scotch, and the German. He was from the Chestnut Ridges and Laurel Hills of the lovely Susquehanna. The blue tops of the great Appalachian range filled his youthful eye. The story of William Penn had stamped its impress on the state, and Indian legends and Indian treaties were a part of the traditions of every Pennsylvania boy.

He had read, too, of the massacre of Wyoming, and his youthful imagination had been fired by Campbell's poetic description of that ruthless slaughter. He had thus inherited no love for the Indian character, and his pressing proffer to President Lincoln, to take all the responsibility of promptly hanging the convicted savages of 1862, must be interpreted in the light of the lurid flames of Wyoming.

To understand fully one who has played so great a part in our dramatic history, we must, for the hour, live in those times, see what he saw, look into the faces of his remarkable copartners, sympathize with his trials, and rejoice in his successes.

Alexander Ramsey was born near Harrisburg, Pa., September 8, 1815. His paternal ancestry were Scotch, and his mother of German origin, a racial combination difficult to excel. An orphan at ten, by the aid of a friendly relative he obtained a fair education, which was greatly enhanced by his strong love for reading and study. He subsequently became a carpenter by trade; he taught school and studied law.

That he did not receive a complete collegiate education, I think, is happy for us all, for then he might have contented himself in filling a professor's chair, and measured out his days in expounding the metres of Homer and Virgil. The self-taught American, like Franklin and Lincoln, most often develops the vigorous and broad life so useful to the nation. Nor was there ever a better illustration of the wholesome training of a young man in the great common school of experience and self-study, which is the nursery and stronghold of American democracy, than we have in the example of young Ramsey. He was one of those practical men who quickly avail themselves of the grand opportunities whose golden gates stand open, in this country, night and day.

He came upon the stage of active life when party strife was raging with unabated fury. The Whig and Democratic parties bitterly divided the American people. The questions about a bank, a tariff, and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, seem to us, at this distant day, to be trivial. But politics were intense, the excitement great, and all were politicians, even the women and children. As a matter of fact, it was not so much *measures,* as *men,* that agitated and divided the people.

Jackson and Clay were the illustrious leaders, and under their respective banners the contestants were marshalled in irreconcilable antagonism. Both leaders were men of consummate tact and management. Each held his followers as with hooks of steel. Clay was the captain of the Whigs, and his graceful manners and splendid eloquence held in thrall the aspiring young men of the day. Ramsey caught the contagion which the fervid genius of Clay evoked. The Whig party was resplendent with talent, and in that atmosphere young Ramsey was matured.

The famous Harrisburg convention of 1840 met in his city. Harrison was nominated, and Clay was defeated. But the people rose as if *en masse.* Banners floated; the air was hot with acclamations; songs were sung, and even business was neglected. As upon an ocean wave, "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," were floated into office.

A month later Harrison died. Tyler, like another Arnold, betrayed his party. Clay's heart was broken, and the Whig party was paralyzed. But the great commoner of Kentucky bore

himself like a plumed knight. In the midst of these stormy times, Ramsey was rocked in the cradle of politics.

In 1840, he was secretary of the electoral college; in 1841, he was chief clerk of the House of Representatives; in 1842, he was elected to Congress, and served in the 28th and 29th Congresses. He was a substantial Whig member, social, cool, cautious, and given to practical business. He retired, voluntarily, from further service, after the close of the 29th Congress, while, singularly enough, Henry Hasting Sibley was just entering the 30th Congress as a delegate from that *terra incognita,* the territory of Minnesota.

Ramsey's career in Congress was signalized by his ardent support of the Wilmot Proviso, in its application to certain territories acquired as the result of the war with Mexico. His seat was next to Wilmot's in the House, and, as a matter of fact, he wrote the proviso on his desk for Wilmot, which the latter offered. No less strange is the fact that Mr. Sibley opposed the application of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory of Minnesota in the very next Congress, as "wholly superfluous."

In 1848, Ramsey was made chairman of the Whig State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, and contributed largely to the election of Zachary Taylor, the last of the Whig presidents. When that gallant soldier was inaugurated, he at once tendered the governorship of Minnesota to Alexander Ramsey. His commission bears date, April 2nd, 1849.

The Whig party was now moribund, dying of slavery. Clay, too, was dying, and Webster had condoned with the Slave Power. The Fugitive Slave Law was the final bolt that slew the great army which Clay and Webster had organized. Thus it happened that the brilliant party which had won Alexander Ramsey's youthful love and devotion was waning and expiring, when he made his advent into the Northwest.

On the 10th of September, 1845, while a member of Congress, he was married to Miss Anna Earl Jenks, a beautiful and queenly woman, of eighteen summers, possessed of the sweetest disposition and the most estimable qualities. With a dash of Quaker blood, her "thee's" and "thou's" were exceedingly agreeable. She was highly domestic in her tastes. Coming from a home of comfort and the best society, with marked affability

and practical good sense, she at once adapted herself to her new surroundings, and by her tact and grace contributed largely to the fortunes of her distinguished husband. After a noble and useful life, she died on November 29th, 1884, and with sad hearts, her troops of friends laid her tenderly away, covered with garlands of flowers, in Oakland Cemetery.

On the 27th day of May, 1849, the new governor arrived at the scene of his official duties. With something of poetic fitness, he came, with his young wife, from Sibley's baronial home at Mendota, where they had been guests, in an Indian birch-bark canoe. On the first day of June, 1849, he issued his official proclamation, declaring the territory duly organized.

Minnesota thus entered her kindergarten preparation for statehood. Then followed the detail necessary to the establishment of the machinery of the new government. This was the historic starting point of the new commonwealth. These important proceedings brought him face to face with the most remarkable body of men who ever graced a frontier, Sibley, Brown, the Rices, Olmsted, Morrison, Steele, McLeod, Stevens, Renville, Borup, Kittson, Bailly.

How, at the mention of their names, the dead arise, and life starts in the stalwart forms of these primeval kings of the wilderness! If New England parades, with pride, her Puritan ancestors, with equal veneration we point to the vigorous, intrepid and superb men, who stood sponsors to the birth of our commonwealth. They were no ignoble rivals in the race which was to be run. No stronger men ever colonized a new country. They possessed that restlessness that comes of ambition, and the audacity that comes of enterprise.

Far behind these empire-builders of the Northwest, there yet appeared in the twilight of our history, other majestic forms. We behold the saintly Allouez and Marquette, glorified by their sufferings. We see Le Seuer in the valley of the St. Peter, in his journey in pursuit of gold, shrouded in mystery and romance, as imaginary as that of Jason in pursuit of the Golden Fleece.

We contemplate the reign and wars of the great fur companies, those mighty lords of the lakes of the North. These all are the paladins of our history. Following them came the era of the scientists, Nicollet, Pike, Schoolcraft. This brings the

panorama to true historic ground. We now touch the time when some of you were co-partners in our early dramatic scenes.

Inspired by these grand traditions, and surrounded by these stalwart figures, the young Pennsylvanian saw that this wilderness had an epic of thrilling interest. As he stood in this environment, what were his dreams of the future? Did he behold in the aisles of the pathless woods, and in the vernal bloom of the unploughed prairies, the miraged image of that wonderful state which is now so proud an ornament in the clustering stars of the Union? But as yet, the scene before him was far from inviting. There was but little to inspire him with hope.

He saw but a small hamlet, with bark-roofed cabins. Savages yet walked in the straggling streets, with the scalps of their enemies dangling from their belts. Cranberries and pelts were the commercial currency of the settlement. Oxen were the horses of the country, and Red River carts the chariots of her commerce.

But what gave him greater anxiety than all else, was the fact that, though he was the nominal executive of a domain more extensive than France, yet but a fragment was open to settlement. Casting his eyes upon the map, all in reality over which he had authority was the narrow strip of land lying between the St. Croix and the Mississippi, bounded on the north by a line passing near where Princeton now stands, a "pent-up Utica," and the land not of the best.

All the territory west of the Mississippi was unceded by the Indians. Into this rich Sioux empire, the young governor gazed with longing eyes. He immediately began to press, with zeal, his Whig friends in Congress, for authority to make a treaty with these savages. At last the authorization came in 1850. As a logical result of this warrant, there followed by far the most important event in the history of Minnesota, and destined to have the most salutary influence upon our destinies.

The treaty was finally consummated July 23rd, 1851, and was ratified by the United States Senate June 26th, 1852. That day Minnesota was born again. This treaty sealed the doom of the Dakota race in Minnesota; they signed away their heritage, and were henceforth strangers in the land of their fathers.

Study all the history of that negotiation as you may, you

will find that Alexander Ramsey was the essential and controlling factor in the transaction. He was not only governor of the territory, but, *ex officio,* Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It is true that the entire body of traders used their great influence with the Indians to accept the treaty, and that influence was powerful. But the traders worked from mercenary motives. Their combined claims amounted to $209,200. Most of these accounts were of long standing, and were, perhaps justly, provided for in the terms of the treaty. But the one man, in that entire body of whites, who worked from no sordid motives, was Alexander Ramsey.

The treaty itself was the most imposing spectacle yet presented in the Northwest. All the dignitaries of the territory, an army of traders, speculators, editors, and all the great Dakota chiefs, in barbaric pomp, with thousands of their painted followers, were present. Why it has not received the historic, literary, and artistic notice it so well deserves, it is difficult to understand. In the events of that day, it excluded and overshadowed all other concerns. It gave 23,000,000 acres of land to the state, and this the most picturesque and fertile on earth. The Almighty could have made a better country, but he never did.

The ink was not yet dry on the pages of that treaty, when a stream of immigration poured in, through "the inward swinging gates," and barbarism gave way to civilization. Ramsey beheld the realization of his dream; a magnificent destiny to the state was assured.

One of the noblest features of this treaty was, that it was contracted by peaceful persuasion. Nearly all the treaties of our government with the aborigines have been the result of bloody wars, and made at the point of the bayonet. This pacific treaty stands in all honor and credit with that of William Penn. Not a soldier was present, nor were they at any time required.

All that is wanting is an artist like Benjamin West, who gave Penn's treaty to the world, and the scene will be immortal. Yonder stands your new capitol, with

> "Granite and marble and granite,
> Corridor, column, and dome,
> A capitol huge as a planet,
> And massive as marble-built Rome."

This edifice will ever be regarded with enthusiasm, for its grace, its elegance and dignity. Therefore let us hang its inviolate walls with glorious state histories, first and foremost of which should be the scene representing the great treaty of 1851.

It may be proper here to note that some disappointed traders, whose claims were not allowed, brought charges against Ramsey, affecting the integrity of his conduct in the negotiations. It is sufficient to state that these charges were fully investigated by a hostile senate, and he was triumphantly vindicated. Lethe, long since, sent her waves of forgetfulness over the whole story.

Correlative to this negotiation, by authority of Congress, in 1863, when he was United States senator, he made a most important treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Ojibways. This treaty covered thirty miles on each side of the Red river, and now includes the fertile counties of Kittson, Marshall, Polk, and Norman, in Minnesota. Previous to this, by his influence chiefly, the Winnebagoes were permanently removed from the heart of the fairest portion of the state. By his early and persistent efforts, the colonist, the conqueror, the civilizer, the Anglo-Saxon, possesses the state, and the pagan is gone. What sentimentality regrets the change?

In the period between the close of his office as territorial governor and his election as the second executive of the state, he loyally performed every duty of a good citizen, serving one term as mayor of the city of St. Paul.

The slavery question, with a potency which subordinated all other political ideas, was now "sovereign of the ascendant." Hitherto, in territorial politics, the Democrats held undisputed sway. On the 25th of July, 1855, the opponents of the Nebraska bill held a meeting at St. Anthony, and assumed the name "Republican." They issued a call for a convention, and Alexander Ramsey was the first name signed to that proclamation.

From that day onward, his allegiance to Republican principles was unfaltering. More and more these principles informed and infused his convictions. He believed that his party creed was the best for the country and humanity. All the ills of the republic could be medicated in that political pharmacy. He made no unnatural political alliances, but stood his ground upon the well

defined principles of his party. He constantly gave his patronage to the support of his party, except during the period of the civil war, when he bestowed his favors equally on both parties, and with a discriminating hand.

In 1857, a state constitution was to be made. A governor, state officers, two members of Congress, and two U. S. senators, were the prizes. The contest was sharp, and both sides claimed a majority. The result was a double convention, but, by a flash of common sense, each faction produced the same constitution, alike even in orthography and punctuation. Promptly it was approved, and the arch of the state was locked in the cohesion of granitic permanence. Henry H. Sibley was the Democratic candidate for governor, and Alexander Ramsey led the Republican column. He was counted out under circumstances of great doubt.

In 1859, Alexander Ramsey was again the logical Republican nominee, and was elected governor by a decisive majority. Under his leadership, the Republicans attained power, to be dislodged but once in forty-five years.

No other governor ever so impressed his individuality upon the state. Well did Henry A. Swift declare that his administration "was a distinct era in the history of the state." The study of his messages reveals his practical purposes, and consummate skill as a public administrator. Extravagance was curbed, salaries reduced, county government simplified, the school and University lands were safely housed from the despoiler, under the guarantees of the constitution. The growing and enormous school fund will ever remain as a proud monument to his memory.

His pronounced action in reference to our school lands, as contained in his celebrated message of January 9, 1861, is undoubtedly the most complete and forceful presentation of the value to the state, and to posterity, of the magnificent grant of public lands we received from the nation, more especially in the mode and method he devised for safeguarding the gift, which has ever been presented to a legislative body. He had fully resolved that this magnificent endowment should not be squandered. With matchless courage he constrained the adoption of his measures. He left nothing, in this regard, for his successors to do, but to follow in his footsteps. By this good work, so suc-

cessfully accomplished, he may be justly regarded as the author and builder of that wonderful school fund, which is today the admiration of every state in the Union.

Kindred to this, and illustrating his practical and economical state house-keeping, and characteristic of his German thrift, was his complete reformation of the extravagant and expensive government of the preceding state administration. Our first legislature was prodigal far beyond the state's resources. State, county, and township governments, had plunged headlong into excessive expenditures, creating debts and embarrassing the people. He met the situation promptly and vigorously. He insisted that every state expenditure should be reduced, that taxation might not eat up the substance of the people, nor prove a bar to immigration. His economical reforms were sweeping, even to reducing his gubernatorial salary one-half. The legislative body was largely reduced; county and township expenditures were curtailed; the public printing was no longer "a job;" salaries and taxes were alike reduced; and a banking law, which authorized a currency on inadequate securities, was swept away. Out of these radical reforms soon sprung that prosperity which has since marked the unparalleled advancement of the state.

In the progress of our history there had occurred one of those sore tribulations by which so many young states and territories have been afflicted, leaving wounds and scars during years of regret. Our misfortune was the celebrated "Five Million Loan Bill." Had the governor of the state stood firm, and permitted no encroachment upon the executive prerogative, there would have been a door of escape. Governor Ramsey, who inherited from his predecessor this ill-fortune, devised measures to extricate the state from its entanglements. An amended constitution expunged the unfortunate measure from the statutes, and the franchises and enormous land grants were restored to the state, and by his devices the state renewed the same to other corporations, so safeguarded as to secure us those great lines of railroad which have so rapidly developed the state. Governor Ramsey is entitled to the highest credit for the masterly skill with which he extricated the endangered state from its greatest peril.

January 1, 1860, Alexander Ramsey became governor of Minnesota. Extraordinary events were pulsating the civilized

world. Russia was emancipating her serfs; Garibaldi was liberating Italy; Germany was moving to unity. But above all, in the United States of America, the revolt against the slave power had arisen to fever heat. The Fugitive Slave Law, the Dred Scott decision, Buchanan's career of weakness and imbecility, the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise, were inciting causes for a revolution which was fated to end in blood. John Brown's soul, at Harper's Ferry, had begun its ominous march. A mighty duel between slavery and freedom was organizing in every home of the republic.

In November, 1860, that man of God, Abraham Lincoln, was elected president. The storm which had gathered, now burst in fury, and on a fatal Friday afternoon, April 12, 1861, treason fired its first shots at Fort Sumter, the portents of the bloody carnage to follow. For the first time the flag of the Union went down, but to rise again, for "the eternal years of God are hers!"

Ramsey was well prepared by experience and conviction, for the new and extraordinary responsibilities thrust upon him by the dread note of war. Not one moment did he hesitate, but offered the first troops to the President, and thus set the pace for loyal governors. The young state became a military camp, and the roll of the drum and the thrill of the bugle fired the hearts of the sons of Minnesota. He issued his call, and his call was not in vain:

"And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed,
The mustering squadron and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war."

The unexpected exigencies required statesmanlike abilities. With an empty treasury, he yet equipped regiments, supplied batteries, and placed squadrons of cavalry in the field. He established hospitals, appointed surgeons, and sent comforts to the sick. He personally visited his troops in the bivouac and in the hospital, and no men in the field were better fed, better clothed, or cared for. At each subsequent call, like the clan of Roderick Dhu, at the sound of his bugle, warriors came from every bush and brake. The history of Minnesota in the mighty struggle became heroic. It was necessary to choose an army of officers, and

well did he select. His privates became captains; his chaplains, archbishops; his captains, colonels; and his colonels, generals.

But in the midst of this terrible war, when our flag was almost fainting in the breeze, there came the foray of a savage enemy in the rear, with deeds too dark for description, threatening the desolation of the state. The dwellings of settlers were blazing at midnight, their paths ambushed by day. It was an orgy of blood, in which neither age nor sex were spared.

Never was a governor so tried and tested. Never was a young state in such deadly peril. But his energies and resources expanded with the dangers. His Scotch blood was fired with the courage of a Bruce. He summoned every man to the front. The plow was stopped in the furrow; the church door was closed, or the church itself converted into a hospital. The inhabitants were fleeing toward the great cities. The conditions of the state were trying to the fortitude of the bravest hearts. But it is the highest of all human praise to say, that their constancy and courage were equal to the trial.

I doubt if the records of ancient or modern times give a better example of heroic deeds and actions, than were exhibited in that dark day, when the rebels were in our front, and the savages in our rear. Our soldier sons were falling on the bloody slopes of southern battle fields, and our citizens, on the frontier, were tomahawked amid the ghastly flames of New Ulm. This was the famous and heroic era of our history, when we showed the world "the might that slumbers in a peasant's arm."

Let our children of all time revive their drooping faith in periods of despondency, by contemplating this supreme exhibition of patriotic devotion to the public weal. By promptness and unwearied exertions, the governor restored public confidence, defended the frontier, and kept two armies in the field, till triumph closed, in honor, around our faithful and chivalrous sons. These war achievements opened the door for his admission to the Loyal Legion, the noblest association following any military contest in history.

It is idle to compare any other state administration with that of Alexander Ramsey. All others, however competent the executives, are commonplace and devoid of stirring events. Amid all these scenes of financial distress, of prostrated credit, of dire

rebellion and savage onslaught, Ramsey was ever the central figure. His coolness, his judgment, his practical good sense, carried us safely and triumphantly through the most trying conditions in all the history of our state.

The roster of our seventeen governors, territorial and state, comprises a roll of admirable men, of vigor and marked ability. But Alexander Ramsey is easily the Nestor of them all. His figure stands out in bold relief, and his primacy is universally conceded.

On the fourteenth day of January, 1863, he was elected to the United States Senate. For twelve years he was a distinguished and working member of that illustrious body. He served on its most important committees, and no senator has left a record of greater practical usefulness during the stirring period of the war and the reconstructive era following.

It was his fortune to participate in those great questions of reconstruction, of resumption, of constitutional amendments, which in their sweep involved all the issues of the great civil conflict. Party matters were trivial; but these demanded wisdom and statesmanship absolute. In all of these, he obtained the high-water mark of excellence. His state was proud of him, and felt a confidence in his wisdom and pilotage, felt in no other.

As illustrative of his practical state-craft, while he was chairman of the committee on post-offices and post roads, some of our most valuable postal reforms were successfully achieved, cheap international postage was secured, and the celebrated "Ramsey bill" corrected the old franking abuse. Great improvements in the navigation of the Mississippi river, essential aid to the Northern Pacific railroad, and the most satisfactory assistance in behalf of the territories of Dakota and Montana,—these, and all matters pertaining to the interests of the great Northwest, were the objects of his constant and sedulous care.

It is proper for me here to remark, that, in the matter of negro suffrage, he believed in a ballot based on intelligence. But in view of the extraordinary course of Andrew Johnson, in pardoning and restoring to civil rights those who had served in the rebel army, while all the South were determined to refuse the negro any rights whatever, under any conditions, he felt that it was necessary to arm these wards of the nation with the ballot,

that they might not be utterly helpless, but in some measure become their own guardians.

Senator Ramsey's senatorial career closed March 4, 1875, having completed twelve years of faithful service.

In 1879 he was appointed by President Hayes to a seat in the cabinet, as secretary of war. As constitutional advisor to the President, he filled the office with wisdom and discretion. He thus widened his personal fame, and reflected additional lustre upon the state he had been so instrumental in creating.

He was called from retirement in 1882, when the "Edmunds bill" was enacted, the object of which was to extinguish polygamy in Utah. To execute that important statute required men of consummate skill and experience. A commission was formed by the Garfield administration, of which Ramsey was made chairman. He resigned in 1886, and permanently retired to private life. This was his last public work.

We have now touched the more salient points of his remarkable history. He had rounded out a splendid career, more abundant in honors than was ever yet accorded to any son of Minnesota. With grace, dignity, and philosophic satisfaction, he retired to private life. He was out of the dust of the political arena, but in the full enjoyment of the profound respect of all his fellow citizens. Not Jefferson at Monticello, nor Jackson at the Hermitage, was the object of greater veneration and love from their own fellow citizens. He had retired full of honors, as full of years.

Now that the tomb has claimed him, what do men think of him? Was Alexander Ramsey a great man? Well was it remarked that, since the advent of Washington, all estimates of human greatness have essentially changed. Men are now measured by the actual benefits they achieve for their fellow citizens, and for humanity. Measured by this standard, he was a great man, and his name should be canonized within the limits of our state.

He was one, and the chief one, of an assemblage of distinguished men, who were eminently conspicuous in our early annals. His rivals and co-workers were of the Titanic type.

There was Henry Hastings Sibley, his most illustrious compeer; a man of culture amid barbaric surroundings; brave and chivalric; the "plumed knight" of pre-territorial times.

There was Henry M. Rice, able, graceful, whether in the wigwam or the senate, always polished, suave and diplomatic.

There was Joseph Renshaw Brown, the brainiest of them all, a sort of an intellectual lion, who sported with the savage Sioux, or ruled a political caucus, with equal power.

There was Ignatius Donnelly, that Celtic genius, whose dazzling intellect shone like a meteor; but, unhappily, like the elephants of Pyrrhus, he was sometimes as dangerous to his friends as his foes.

There was Edmund Rice, elegant and courtly, the Chesterfield of his day. There was John S. Pillsbury, honest, solid and true; the champion of the University, and the friend of the settler.

There was Morton S. Wilkinson, stately, gifted and elegant; the friend of Lincoln. It is to be regretted that his speeches were always better than his practices.

There was Cushman K. Davis, that great jurist, whose bugle-notes of eloquence in Ciceronian periods still live in the echoes of the American Senate, as his memory yet lives, deathless, in our hearts.

And there is the familiar face of Charles Eugene Flandrau, the cavalier of the border, lawyer, jurist, soldier, the Prince Rupert of the Northwest.

There is George Loomis Becker, lawyer, railroad president, state senator, railroad commissioner, twice Democratic candidate for governor, a true type of an elegant and accomplished gentleman of the old school.

There is James J. Hill, a strong, unique, virile, monumental character, for whom a sharp claim will be justly pressed with all the power of steam, for a high niche in the Pantheon of Minnesota's great men.

There is the patriotic face of the Right Reverend John Ireland, priest, army chaplain, assistant bishop, bishop, archbishop, and soon, we pray (be it prophetically said), to wear the red hat of a cardinal, the most eminent Catholic prelate America has yet produced, and a splendid type of a loyal American, after the stamp of Patrick Henry.

And we must mention also the name of Joseph A. Wheelock, whose polished Athenian pen has been the brightest jewel

in the crown of our literature, and will remain for him a peerless monument, which proclaims the pen mightier than the sword.

Men such as these, and other rare spirits, of literary, civil, and social mark, were Ramsey's august compeers and emulators. Yet, in some aggregate way, he measured more than any one of them; and moreover, down deep in the red core of their hearts, the people loved him better than any other public man. That position he held by the grace of God, and without the leave of the politicians.

Beside him but one scarcely inferior figure is to be seen, and that is the stately form of Henry Hastings Sibley. He was a splendid cavalier, "from spur to plume." He, too, is one of the august fathers of the state. The panorama of his life, from barbarism to civilization, is an unwritten Iliad. He, like Ramsey, was the type of a man to found an American commonwealth. These two men are the twin pillars on which the pristine arches of the state rest,—*par nobile fratrum!*

There is nothing finer in the history of our state, than when Ramsey, as governor, summoned his old antagonist from retirement, and gave him a commission to command all the troops in the field against the hostile Sioux, and with unlimited authority. The trust and confidence these ancient enemies, in an hour of common danger, reposed in each other, bespeak for them the enduring regard of all who admire nobility of character.

What then constitutes the qualities which made Ramsey great? His greatest gift was his strong, practical common sense. Guizot, in his History of Civilization, says, that saving common sense is the best genius for mankind, and has ever been its savior in all times of danger. While not a genius, he possessed talents of the highest order. His mental fabric was symmetrical, and he was ever in command of all his faculties, judgment, memory, perception, discretion. He could apply his whole intellectual endowment to a solution of the questions before him. He was never among the stars, searching for ideal conditions, but always on earth, taking clear, practical views of affairs. The proverb from Ovid, "Medio tutissimus ibis," was applicable to his way and method.

He was a man with a purpose. He was one who did things. He was a projector, as well as an executor. He possessed a

strong individuality of character, and that character impressed itself indelibly upon the councils of the state. He was gifted with a quality of temper that could never be ruffled. Always frank and good humored, he might be described by Goldsmith's well known line,

"An abridgment of all that is pleasant in man."

And yet, he had firmness and decision of character, and was not easily turned from his purpose.

Though bitter invective, often descending to absolute scurrility, marked the stormy annals of territorial times, yet he never, for one moment, descended to its use. Though frequently galled by the poisoned lance of partisan abuse, he never retorted in kind. His speeches and public utterances were elevated, clean, and devoid of grossness or defamation.

Ramsey was not an orator. He in no wise met the requirements of Cicero, that master of elocution. So often on the rostrum with him, I always admired his plain, direct methods, utterly rejecting all ornamentation, and by the simplest and most direct route reaching the purposes of his address. Like Franklin, he seldom exceeded a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes in any public address. While not a fluent, he was an easy speaker. He spoke as well in German as in English, and this fact greatly enhanced his popularity. His evident sincerity always carried conviction, and he won the judgment of his audience. He had as few idiosyncracies as any man I ever met in public life,—no crotchets, no fads, and this left his faculties unclouded and unbiased.

He was a typical American, and loved his country with a devotion as fervid as Patrick Henry. He could say, as Webster once said, "I was born an American, I live an American, I shall die an American." The East, from whence he came, was narrow; but the West broadened and liberalized his ideas.

The effect of the West upon the political thought and action of the republic, is simply enormous. It is not so much what the East has done for the West, but what has not the West done for the East? We take the sons of the East, and recast them, in stature and breadth, free from the trammels of tradition, till they widen like our own ocean prairies. The grand effect of the West upon the national character, life and government, is a

story yet to be written. The West reconstructed Alexander Ramsey.

Like all truly great men, he was a firm believer in the truths of Christianity. He was a Presbyterian of the most liberal school, and believed more in a practical Christian life than in creeds or dogmas. He often quoted the couplet of the poet:

> "For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight,
> He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right."

There was something remarkable in the general estimate placed upon his character. Public esteem is a lofty criterion to decide a man's reputation. He who holds an elevated character, before such a tribunal, is indeed fortunate. Innumerable were the tongues in the state which proclaimed his virtues and his safe qualities. In the convention, in the town meeting, in the city full, or on the remote frontier, in the church or on the car, everywhere, the people said, without distinction of party, Ramsey was alwys safe and to be trusted. Such was the power of reputation and good character. To be thus confided in was better than a great inheritance or bank stock. No other public man among us ever so held the universal confidence. With an intimate knowledge of our sharp political contests, I fear not to state that, when beaten for a high office by legislative coalitions and strange alliances, if left to the suffrages of his entire party, he would have been triumphantly elected.

We love sometimes to look at distinguished men *en dishabille*, not always in their robes of state. Let us view him personally. His social and colloquial qualities were of the best. In private life, he was a genial and generous neighbor, a loving husband and a fond father. He was neither avaricious nor prodigal of money. He bowed in knightly homage to women, as all true gentlemen have ever done.

That elegant contrivance of social life, a good dinner, had its charms for his leisure hours and Epicurean tastes. The gorgeous table, the embossed plate, the exotic bottles, the brilliant flowers, the distinguished guests, the Attic salt, in his leisure hours, to him were fascinating. The salads of Lucullus, and the wines of Maecenas, were none too rich for his Pennsylvania blood. I believe he had the best stomach in America, and a good stomach is the foundation of a strong man.

He was a man of marked personal appearance. He had broad shoulders, a deep chest, and great muscular power, denoting immense vitality. He had a noble head, round, well balanced, and symmetrical. His face was broad and expressive. When the "dew of youth" rested upon him, he was accounted especially handsome; and age but added grace and dignity to his noble appearance.

Finally, his connection with and devotion to this Society must not be omitted on this memorial occasion. He was our patron saint from our natal hour to the end of his days. He signed the legislative act incorporating this body October 20, 1849, four weeks before it was organized. His address on assuming the chair as first president, January 13, 1851, is a remarkable paper, as it defined the splendid field of our research, and pointed out, as never since, the great objects of this Society. To read it even now creates an enthusiasm in our work, and an inspiration not to be received from any other source. He showed how Minnesota had a history, rich in tales of daring enterprise, glowing with myths and traditions, which were to be exhumed and gathered into permanent form. We were to preserve the fleeting memorials of our territory; in fact, were to become the embalmers royal to all that is worth preserving in our history. Hence this Society has a passion for old things, old traditions, old mounds, old stories, old pictures, old heroes; we love to grope in the twilight of the past, to unearth our eldest myths, as well as to verify events that otherwise would fade;—an employment so suitably symbolized by the motto on the seal of our Society. "Lux e tenebris."

Like "Old Mortality" in Scott's immortal story, with mallet and chisel, bending over their tombs in pious reverence, we remove the moss which time has gathered, ere yet oblivion dedicates them to forgetfulness. We protect and preserve the name and the fame of all the good sons of the state, as each in his turn requires these good offices, such as we now and here render to him whose memory we tonight celebrate. That Minnesota has an Historical Society, methodically to gather and record chronicles of men and events, of which any state might be justly proud, is largely due to his wise foresight and his constant and effective support.

Thus have I endeavored to present the portrait of our companion, Councilor, and President. We have turned the dial back-

wards, and recalled some of the scenes in the gray dawn of the past. We have summoned figures of noted cotemporaries, and have touched a few of the more important events of his history. True, we stumble over the images of many other distinguished men, and the fragments of many weighty events; but the canvass will not carry all things in a single picture. The artist has aimed at the general effect, without arithmetical weariness of detail.

Alexander Ramsey is dead, and has passed forever to the "starry court of eternity." The grave closes the scene, and we scatter, profusely it may be, the lilies of remembrance upon his sepulcher. But the praise of the dead harms no rival, though it be generously given. I doubt if the state shall look upon his like again, because there are no surroundings to produce such a character. He surely earned a name and a fame. Minnesota cannot afford to let it die. A generous people will yet decorate his tomb with a monument that would please the eye of Pericles.

Ever advancing shadows leave uncovered the forms of but few who have been active in the arena of the state. Many we fondly thought imperishable are already quite forgotten. But Alexander Ramsey has filled so broad and so useful a page in the annals of Minnesota that he has bequeathed his name as a household word in the homes of the state, for centuries to come.

The intelligence of his death fell with an equal shock upon all classes of society. It invaded alike the homes of the rich and the cottages of the poor,—"pauperum tabernas, regumque turres."

Alexander Ramsey is dead, so far as such men can die, and he is henceforth an historical character. I venture thus early to anticipate the verdict of posterity, and call him a great man; one test of which surely lies in this, that no other has yet risen among us, who, all in all, can successfully contest with him the palm of primacy.

To few men is it given to witness what, in the limitations of a single life time, it was his to behold. The wilderness of 1849 has been converted into a modern empire, better equipped than Greece or Rome, for the people who are its happy citizens. Gladstone, in his long life, never beheld such a transformation scene. Moses was denied the promised land, except its distant vision from a mountain top; but Ramsey not only saw the wonderful

vision, but he was permitted to enter into its full enjoyment. He saw the great Mississippi valley swiftly filled with the stars of empire. He saw the mighty gates of the Rocky Mountains open to close no more. He saw twelve hundred thousand happy and prosperous people on the very land his genius had given by Indian treaties to the expanded state. He witnessed what had been done, and foresaw the unwritten triumphs of the future.

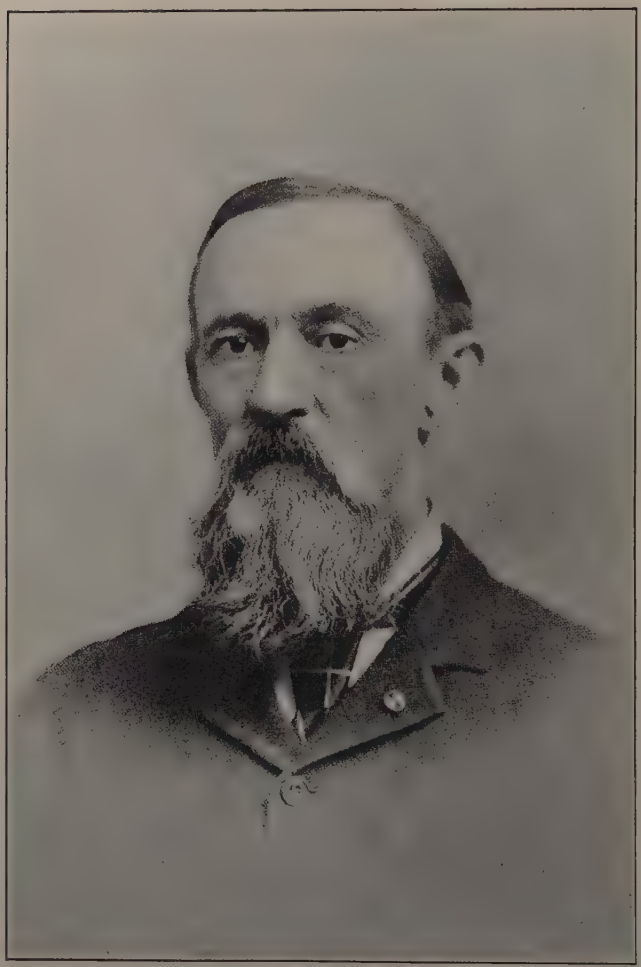
He must be measured in the completeness of his character, physical, moral, and intellectual, in all its harmony, by what it was capable of accomplishing, and by what it did actually accomplish. The propulsive force of his work still operates, and, like Tennyson's brook, will flow on forever. In all that pertained to the well-being of the state, his actions have stood the test of time; and no other man, on questions of public policy, ever committed so few errors of judgment. His name should be recorded among the heralds of empire, as the grandest among the founders and statesmen of Minnesota.

He died in the maturity of his years. The very ends of his being seem to have been fulfilled. It was no sudden death in the midst of life's great activities and usefulness, like the lamented Windom; but was like the close of some pleasing summer's day, whose long lingering and benignant light charms as it departs, and melts away into the rosy west, leaving upon its forehead the evening star of memory.

Nothing could be more appropriate for his monumental inscription than that placed upon the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of the Cathedral of St. Paul, who lies buried in the very building his genius constructed, and on whose tablet is this immortal legend:

"Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice."

But Alexander Ramsey lies inurned in a cathedral whose mighty arches and swelling dome reach to the very confines of this empire state, which his genius may be said to have almost created.



J. W. Baker

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES, PRESENTED AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING, SEPTEMBER 14, 1903.

Hon. Greenleaf Clark presented the following address:

The admirable and adequate eulogy by Councilor James H. Baker before this society at a recent meeting, largely attended by the general public, so fully covers the life, character, and services of Alexander Ramsey, and places so just an estimate upon them, that but little remains to be said; and that little more in the nature of personal impression of some special characteristic than by way of important addition to the picture so happily drawn.

One of the qualities of Governor Ramsey which greatly impressed me was his mental equipoise, the perfect command he had over himself at all times, a mastery over his faculties which events of the most critical import could not overthrow, and which made him the man for the crisis. No vital energy was lost by despair or nervous fear. His faculties were always ready. It was his habit to meet his friends and neighbors with a hearty greeting and smiling face. He was fond of humor, and often indulged in it, even in serious conversations. No sudden weight of responsibility changed his manners in these respects. He acted as though a troubled mien and depressed manners had no part in the serious affairs of life, and appeared to live in the consciousness that there was to be a tomorrow, and that if we were true to ourselves, our duty, and our country, and did the best we could, the good providence of God, in due time, would evolve the better day.

"He looked not on weal as one who knows not woe comes too:
He looked not on evil days as though they would never mend."

And is it not true that the true man in the darkest hours will live in hope and expectation of the morn?

As illustration of his ability for prompt and decisive action, and of his executive force, I may refer to the incident of the arrest of Chief Red Iron at Traverse des Sioux, on the occasion of the first payment, in November, 1852, under the treaty of Traverse des Sioux. The Indians were dissatisfied because of the large amounts which were to be paid out of their treaty money to their creditors, the traders, according to the agreement made at the time of the treaty, but to which they now claimed that their signatures had been obtained by fraud. Instigated, in part, by traders whose claims were not recognized in the agreement, they were in an ugly mood, and matters assumed a threatening aspect. Governor Ramsey sent to Fort Snelling for troops, and received a beggarly force of forty-five men, all told, to confront thousands of turbulent Indians. The leader of the trouble was Chief Red Iron, who organized his tribe into a "soldiers' lodge." To show the spirit that animated them, Red Iron's band would ride fiercely up to the thin line of soldiers, and on reaching them would wheel and ride back again, and repeat the manoeuvre. Governor Ramsey promptly ordered the arrest of Red Iron by a file of soldiers, and kept him in custody until the payment was allowed to proceed. This was courageous and forceful action in a crisis so threatening, but it was successful.

The breaking out of the Sioux massacre in 1862, when Ramsey, then governor, was already loaded down with the cares incident to the raising and equipping of troops for the war of the Rebellion, suddenly devolved a most critical and arduous additional burden upon him. The State was denuded of regular troops, and the only military force available was of raw volunteers. Governor Ramsey promptly went to ex-Governor Sibley and persuaded him to take command of the force he hoped to get together and equip for an immediate campaign against the savages. This was quick decision and decisive action out of the ordinary course. There were able military men to be found. Governor Sibley had never commanded soldiers, and had never been a soldier. But he knew more of Indian character and their modes of warfare than any other white man then living, acquired by long and close association with them. Two things were of vital importance, to put a stop to the slaughter, and to rescue two or three hundred wretched female captives. Sibley knew, better than any other man, what course to pursue to keep them alive, and finally

to get possession of them. The results, which it is unnecessary to detail, as they are matters of history, justified the wisdom of this new and unprecedented action on the part of Governor Ramsey.

At the time of the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, Governor Ramsey, being in Washington when the first call for troops was made by the President, immediately and personally tendered to Mr. Lincoln a regiment of volunteers, the first one offered to the Government in the civil war. He at once came home, and soon had the regiment recruited, mustered in, equipped, officered, and ready for duty.

No further illustrations are necessary to show his masterful power for quick, decisive, judicious action. There is but one further honor that the State can bestow upon Governor Ramsey, and that is, to perpetuate his name and fame as the foremost man in its upbuilding, by placing his statue in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington; and I offer the following resolutions, and suggest that they be laid on the table until the memorial addresses are concluded, and then be taken up and acted upon.

RESOLUTIONS.

PRESENTED BY HON. GREENLEAF CLARK IN THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1903, WHICH WERE UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

Be it Resolved by the Historical Society that under the Act of Congress of 1864, authorizing the States, upon the invitation of the President, to provide and furnish statues in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number, for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown, or for distinguished civic or military services, such as each State may deem to be worthy of national commemoration, to be placed in the old hall of the House of Representatives in the capitol of the United States, set apart for the purpose, this Society do memorialize the Legislature of Minnesota at its next session, to provide and furnish, for one niche in such statuary hall, the statue of Alexander Ramsey, now dead, full of years and of honors, illustrious for his public services, as Territorial and State Governor, in extinguishing the Indian right to the occupancy of the soil over the fairest part of Minnesota, and so preparing it for the advancing tide of civilization,

in laying broad and deep and strong the foundations of the civil government of Minnesota, and for his ever memorable steadfastness, devotion and labors as "War Governor," in throwing the whole power of the State to the aid of the Federal Government in the suppression of the unhappy rebellion of 1861, and for the defense of the State against savage foes at the Sioux Indian massacre of 1862, distinguished for statesmanship in the halls of Congress, in the House of Representatives in his early manhood, and in maturer years in the Senate, and in the national councils as Secretary of War, and who in the intelligent judgment of his countrymen, and especially of the people of Minnesota, is deemed worthy of national commemoration.

Resolved, further, that it is made the duty of the President and Secretary of this Society to prepare and present to the next Legislature in behalf of this Society, such memorial, and to ask that the proper steps be taken to put in execution the objects thereof, and for an appropriation adequate for the purpose.

Ex-Governor Lucius F. Hubbard spoke as follows:

It was surely a very great privilege to be associated with Governor Ramsey, as some of you gentlemen were, in his work of laying the foundations of our State. While I can hardly claim to have sustained such a relation to him in any degree, it was my good fortune to live in Minnesota at the time when his service in upbuilding the commonwealth was most forcibly and most effectively felt. We all now recognize our obligation to his able and conservative guidance during the formative period of our existence as a political community, in overcoming the unusual difficulties and in solving the serious problems that confronted us in our early career.

It was a great privilege vouchsafed to him to be spared to witness the imperial proportions attained by the young commonwealth whose destiny had been so largely shaped by his hands.

The characteristic of Governor Ramsey that specially impressed me, and generally those, I think, that came to know him well, was his unique and charming personality. However one might differ with him upon any question of public interest, personal contact with him was sure to harmonize, in some degree,

one's own view with his. He had a most persuasive way in that respect, and if one finally was compelled to differ with him upon a question of interest or policy, it was with a feeling of real sorrow that it must be so. In his nature there was little of that element of antagonism that we encounter in the average man of our times. If he did not always succeed in conciliating such opposition as one must encounter in a long public career like his, it caused keen regret upon the part of those who felt that they must decline to accept his view of men or measures.

Perhaps the pleasantest reminiscence I have of my relation to Governor Ramsey, is connected with the visit he made to our Minnesota regiments in the summer of 1862, along our lines at the front, near Corinth, Mississippi. It was during the first few months of our service in the South, before we had become acclimated and hardened by experience into the veterans we regarded ourselves a year or two later. We had had our first fight and had concluded our first campaign, and at the time were encamped in one of the worst of the many malarious localities that distinguish that section of the country. The health of the troops had become seriously affected by the adverse conditions that generally prevailed. Our Minnesota men, in common with their comrades from other states, were being in such large numbers reported sick, or unfit for duty, that a feeling of despondency and gloom was beginning to pervade the command. The sick were earnestly pleading to be taken away from the environment of death that was daily claiming many of their comrades, and those yet in reasonable health were cast down by what seemed to be the inevitable prospect before them. Governor Ramsey's visit occurred at about this crisis, and he at once interested himself in an effort to reassure and revive the drooping spirits of our men. Here was an instance where the remarkable personality of Governor Ramsey, to which I have referred, was illustrated in a notable manner. His efforts had a marked effect. There seemed to be a change for the better in the conditions of which I have spoken after this visit of Governor Ramsey.

Personally, I well remember the feeling of relief and reassurance I experienced, respecting the responsibilities resting upon me as commander of the Fifth Regiment, after Governor Ramsey's visit to our camp. It was simply a case of "bracing

up" on our part, but the incentive and stimulus to such an effort were the cheerful sympathy and assurance with which the Governor convinced us that things were not as bad as they seemed to be.

Surely the name and fame of Governor Ramsey are so woven into the fabric of our history that they must endure and be honored as long as the Commonwealth shall survive.

Ex-Governor Andrew R. McGill presented the following tribute, which, in his absence, was read by the Secretary.

It would not be possible in the few minutes allotted me to do more than glance at, much less amplify, the traits which differentiated Governor Ramsey from other men and served as indices to a character marked with strong but withal pleasing individuality.

Following the excellent sketch of his life by General Baker, recently read before this Society, any further utterances on the subject must be in the nature of redundancy, or but confirmatory echoes of what has already been comprehensively considered and thoroughly well said.

Governor Ramsey was first of all a good American citizen, loyal alike to his City, State, and Country. His respect for law and the orderly conduct of affairs was a marked trait of his character. He was at all times a model citizen. His patriotism had no bounds. He believed in his Country and its institutions with all his soul, and even in the gloomiest days of the rebellion his faith remained constant and unshaken. He foresaw the country's triumph and splendid destiny, when strong men quailed and trembled in fear lest it should be overcome by those who sought its life; and with cheerful face he looked to the future, buoyed up by the firm conviction that this government would not perish from the earth, that it would emerge, as it did, with a new birth and a new life, strengthened even by its sacrifices and capable of withstanding whatever foes it might encounter in the future, domestic or foreign. Those who knew Governor Ramsey during this period cannot fail to recall the sublimity of his faith and confidence. In this faith there was no pessimism.

He was a sagacious, big-brained man, and in saving common sense was not excelled by any of his contemporaries. His views on public questions were broad and comprehensive, and his judgment wonderfully accurate.

It was but natural for Governor Ramsey to be kindly, sociable, and hospitable. He had no doubt more warm personal friends and admirers than any other man in the State. The quotation,

> "None knew thee but to love thee,
> Nor named thee but to praise,"

is often used in extolling the dead, and is seldom applicable; yet in the case of the subject of this sketch it applies literally. And while his friends were a great multitude, he never failed, however busy, to greet each one, as he met them from time to time, and with such undisguised and kindly courtesy as to still further endear him to them. Thus as the years rolled by, the ties which united him to his friends continually strengthened.

And who were his friends? Were they the high officers of the State and Church? Were they the scholars and artists, the men of great learning and accomplishment? Were they the wealthy and the powerful? Yes, all of these, and equally also the humble and poor. He was no respecter of persons. No property qualification was necessary to gain his friendship. He was absolutely without affectation. There was no fawning on his part, neither was there repulsion. To him all of his acquaintances, whatever their condition in life, stood on the same level. His greetings to the humble were as hale and hearty as to the wealthy. His purposes were noble and sincere, and his life one of unaffected simplicity.

It is unnecessary for me to refer to Governor Ramsey's official career. That phase of his life has been so interwoven into the history of the State as to embellish nearly all of its pages. The history of *his* life and of the State's are contemporaneous and inseparable. They cannot be considered apart. To relate one is to relate the other. No man was ever more clearly identified with his State than he.

He desired the prosperity and happiness of his fellow men and to the last was deeply interested in whatever tended to the

development and betterment of the State. He had been present at its birth, had been prominent in moulding its policies and laws, had seen it grow in wealth and population, in education and refinement, until it had become confessedly one of the prominent States of the Union. He had been an important factor in making possible this splendid fruition, and with the satisfaction of a parent he dwelt continually in admiration of the splendid achievement.

In the State Historical Society his interest never abated. Comprehending its great value, he gave to it his services up to the close of his eventful life. I recall his attendance upon the Finance Committees of the legislature from time to time, and his earnest pleas for the support necessary to carry on its important work. At the session of 1901, weighted then with four score and six years, he climbed to the third story of the Capitol building to meet the Committees in this behalf, and it is pleasant now to remember that his demand or request was unanimously conceded.

Governor Ramsey was admirably adapted to public life. By reason of his temperament, his knowledge of men, his frank and manly nature, and his large comprehension of things essential, he was enabled to accomplish more than most men of even conceded ability and influence. And, possessing these great advantages, he was untiring in serving as best he could his State and his Country.

Death has reaped a glorious harvest in Minnesota the last few years. We, who survive, stand appalled as the names are called of those who have passed over into that "undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns." Ramsey's name, alas! has been added to the list. He has joined the immortals. The State has lost its first citizen; and we, each of us, have lost a noble friend. Yet we know that

> "It is not all of life to live,
> Nor all of death to die;"

and that, while he has been called from among us and from the activities of life, his works will live after him and his name will continue to be influential in Minnesota—his State and ours—so long as time shall last. In consideration of these

things, and in the memory which we treasure of his noble life, let us find our consolation.

GOVERNOR VAN SANT spoke as follows:

The long and valuable services of Hon. Alexander Ramsey, to both the Territory and State of Minnesota, easily mark him as our most worthy and distinguished fellow-citizen. His treaties with the Indians, his labors in season and out of season to advance our interests in the pioneer days, will long be remembered by a grateful people.

His fidelity to the cause of education, and his deep solicitude for the safety of the school fund, were most commendable. When by legislative enactment land sharks and speculators would have laid violent hands upon it, Alexander Ramsey vetoed the measure. And this magnificent fund, now amounting to $15,000,000,—and later, if like wisdom and integrity prevail, it will amount to fully $50,000,000,—will stand as a lasting monument to Ramsey's faithful and efficient services and devotion to duty.

He it was who tendered to Abraham Lincoln at the outbreak of the Civil War the first regiment, and it was not only Minnesota's first, but, on account of its memorable charge at Gettysburg, it became the first regiment of the nation,—suffering a greater loss in that sanguinary engagement than any other similar organization on either side in any one engagement during the entire war.

At that time there was not a dollar in the treasury of the state. Ramsey made a long and tedious journey to Pennsylvania and borrowed the money, on his own promise to pay, to equip that same body of men and send them to the front. The fact that he could at such a time on his personal note secure so large a sum of money is a most convincing tribute to the esteem in which he was held by the people of his native state.

During that great struggle no war governor did more with the men and means at his command to aid President Lincoln in his mighty task than he. His patriotism was ever

of the highest type. As United States Senator and Secretary of War, the same fidelity to duty characterized his every act. Not only in public but in private life he was a most exemplary citizen, a devoted husband, a kind father; in a word, loved and esteemed by all who knew him.

At Washington, in the rotunda of the Capitol, each state is privileged to place statues of two of her most distinguished sons. So universal is the sentiment that Alexander Ramsey is of all men entitled to this honor, that I purpose asking the next legislature to appropriate the money and take the necessary steps to place his statue in the nation's first niche of fame allotted to Minnesota. There may be some question as to who shall occupy the other place,—let future generations decide that; but there can be no difference of opinion, it seems to me, as to the wisdom of thus honoring the memory of Alexander Ramsey.

Archbishop Ireland spoke as follows:

The presence of Governor Ramsey in our streets, before his death, was forceful and meaningful. He expressed in himself the whole half century of toil and achievement—the practical labors and the romance and poetry of our half century of growth. He was fortunate in living fourscore years and ten, that the quiet peacefulness of his declining years might crown the more rugged activity of his early life,—that he might see the harvest he had helped to sow, and reap the satisfaction from a life full of labor and usefulness.

Alexander Ramsey and the State of Minnesota are inseparable. You cannot mention the one without recalling the other. I can remember no other state in which the history of the commonwealth is so closely bound up in the life of one man. Arriving in 1849 as the first governor of the new territory, he found Minnesota new and unimportant. A few white men were scattered along her rivers. No axmen were in her forests, and no plow had furrowed her broad plains. Only the trails of the savages marked where man had passed.

On his arrival he hunted in vain for a roof to spend the night, but was taken in by General Sibley at Mendota, until

St. Paul awoke to her dignity as the capital and provided quarters for him.

The story from that time until this present year is more epic than ever Homer or Virgil wrote, for wonders have indeed been done, and Alexander Ramsey could say, "Among great things, I have been great." He may well be called the builder, savior, and father of his State.

Private virtue is ever the embellishment of public capacities, and in the private virtues Ramsey stood pre-eminent. Honest, kindly, affectionate in his home and among his friends, Alexander Ramsey was, indeed, a man whose memory will fade only when Minnesota has become but a memory.

HON. F. C. STEVENS said:

I esteem myself fortunate, as one of the younger generation, in having enjoyed sufficient acquaintance with Governor Ramsey so that it was possible to appreciate the noble qualities which so endeared him to the people of the Northwest. During the last few years of his life he discussed with me matters of public importance with such shrewdness, vigor, and breadth of view, as to cause one to marvel:

> "How far the Gulf stream of our youth may flow
> Into the Arctic regions of our lives,
> Where little else than life survives."

I have had the opportunity to contrast his strength and soundness of intellect with some of the distinguished contemporaries, who with him met and solved the momentous problems which confronted men of public affairs more than a generation ago. Few of them did retain as he the memory of persons and events, and a just appreciation of the accomplishments and errors, of those fateful years. But more than all it seems to me wonderful that he grasped so strongly and accurately the trend of recent events which also form an epoch in the world's history. There is one occurence which impressed me with those faculties. I met Governor Ramsey in St. Paul, and he had recounted some of his work in Washington and told some stories of interest relating to close friends of his then in active public life and in most important stations.

One of them was a member of the President's Cabinet. Governor Ramsey sent a personal letter by a friend to this former colleague in the Senate and Cabinet, relative to some business then pending, and I was charged to introduce the gentleman and deliver the letter; and to our astonishment this prominent official did not remember either the Governor or the important matters of former years, until after we had vigorously refreshed his memory. And when we discussed current events applying to our mission, his feeble old intellect could not seem to comprehend them. Yet at that time our old friend seized these with the greatest eagerness; and his opinions and conclusions were so broad and just and shrewd as to always compel admiration.

In my public work I was greatly interested in two particular questions on which I found Governor Ramsey also informed and interested, namely, the improvement of our postal service, and our national merchant marine. I ascertained that when in the Senate he had devoted special attention to these topics, and, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads in 1870, had drafted, introduced, reported and conducted in the Senate most important measures on these subjects. He informed me that the foundation of our postal system of today is the postal code which he had piloted through the Senate in the short session of 1871. Though there has been much subsequent legislation and many amendments, there has since never been any thoroughly competent revision. I recall that, in that conversation, he stated the present postal system to be in some respects inadequate and cumbersome; and that the machine for the expenditure of less than $20,000,000 for 30,000,000 people could not be expected to do the work satisfactorily for the expenditure of $120,000,000 for 75,000,000 people. Recent events have sustained the same conclusion of this wise old statesman.

I recall, too, that during the time when the ship subsidy bills were under discussion by the country and in Congress, Governor Ramsey informed me that he had been through similar contests when he drafted and reported four bills for the benefit of the waning merchant marine of the country and to establish steamship lines on the Pacific, Gulf, and Atlantic, and

with Asiatic, South American, Mexican, and European ports. He discussed the subject as it appeared in his active days and the changes that had since occurred, as well as the necessities of the present, with such force and clearness that I found that the so-called modern statesmen may better sit at the feet of the grand old man for instruction even in their chosen lines.

Most of us think we are doing well when we deal with a few subjects of importance. But he seemed to have mastered many. In those days he had the burden of public affairs which men in our times hardly realize. The vast and various questions of war and reconstruction, of finance and resumption of specie payments, of commerce and shipping, of the proper reduction of our army, of Indian and land matters then of vast importance, and of encouragement for the building of railroads and improving our water ways without robbing and impoverishing our people, and multitudes of smaller and yet most important questions, were connected with the close of the great and destructive war and with the development of a new country, populated by the most vigorous and restless and progressive pioneers the world has ever seen. These latter topics alone would create a vast amount of difficult business at all times.

It is given to few men in public life to stand in the front rank and perform notable public acts so that the world will acclaim them as great. In our country, Washington and Jefferson, Webster and Clay, Lincoln and Seward, had the opportunity. Even these men could have accomplished nothing unless they had been loyally supported by that second rank of patriotic, wise and strong men who stood between these leaders and the people and carried on the vast and varied business of a rapidly growing country. These men may not have achieved so much fame with the populace, but after all their services were of the utmost value and necessity. Ramsey was one of them and will always be remembered as of those who supported the great chieftains wisely and strongly in the dark days of the nation's extremity.

A new country is largely what its pioneers make it. They fix the character and the trend of its development. Their lives, plans, and guidance, mostly determine its possibilities and use-

fulness. We younger men have been so fortunate as to have our ways directed to this fair land after the stress and struggles of pioneering had passed, and when all of the accompaniments of the highest and most delightful civilization were present; and we can never honor too highly the men who brought these wonderful things to pass.

We shall always find an inspiration for well doing in public and private capacity in the life and works of Alexander Ramsey.

Mr. Henry S. Fairchild said:

We have met here to do honor to the memory of a very distinguished man, who to many of us was a warm personal friend.

At our last meeting we listened to an able, a very eloquent, and well deserved tribute to Governor Ramsey, by General James H. Baker; and he and those who have preceded me tonight have covered fully his remarkable public life and his personal characteristics. It is only left to me to allude to a few traits of the character of Governor Ramsey that strongly impressed me in the last few years when business relations threw us into close association.

In these years I have heard him relate much of the public men of the nation with whom he had come in contact, and much of his fellow pioneers of this State, of whom some had been lifelong political friends, some political opponents, and a few personal enemies (for all men of positive character must have enemies), and a broad spirit of charity characterized all his utterances. I cannot recall a single instance in which he indulged in detraction or disparagement of his opponents, even when some of them had participated in defrauding him of the governorship to which all now know he was fairly elected in the first contest.

His kindheartedness was illustrated by his retaining servants and tenants for twenty or thirty years, not always for their worthiness, but because he had come to know them well, and his sympathies would not permit their discharge.

Men exalted to high stations often lose touch with the mass of humanity. Not so with Alexander Ramsey. It was his fortune to have known well most of the distinguished men of our country of the last two generations, yet he never lost touch with the humblest of his fellow citizens, especially of the old settlers. He met them always with a pleasant smile and cordial shake of the hand, and was by them universally loved.

When he lay in state at the Capitol, I stood and watched with interest the thronging thousands pass his bier, once more to look on the face of the "Grand Old Man," whom they revered and loved.

When Abou Ben Adhem saw the angel writing in the "Book of Gold" in the soft moonlight of his room, he made bold to ask the Celestial Presence, "What writest thou?" The angel answered, "The names of those who love the Lord." Abou asked, "And is mine one?" The angel, with a sweet, sad face, answered, "Nay, not so." Then Ben Adhem humbly said, "Write me as one that loves his fellow men." The next night the angel came with a great wakening light,

> "And showed the names whom love of God had bless'd,
> And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest."

More and more, as the earth circles the sun men will be judged by men (and is man more merciful than God?) in accordance with the quality of their hearts and their love of their fellow men, rather than by the quality of their judgment, their creeds, or beliefs.

In the last few years Governor Ramsey thought much and talked often, when none others were by, of the great, and, through all time, perplexing mysteries of life and destiny.

> "Where rest the secrets? where the keys
> Of the old death-bolted mysteries?
> Alas! the dead retain their trust,
> Dust has no answer from the dust."

I remember well his speaking of having often listened to a distinguished senator from Ohio, who had made a study of all religions and philosophies, which in a degree unsettled his faith, and he said he often regretted having heard him;—that

he wished that he could have remained in the simple comforting faith of his sainted mother.

Pardon me, Mr. President, if, impelled by the knowledge of the growing current of the thought of the day, I say it is not accordant with reason or intuition that instinct should lead aright the squirrel and the bee to lay up stores for the winter of whose needs they have had no experience,—that instinct should teach the wild waterfowl to wing their way to the far North, to nest and rear their brood in safety on the reedy margins of the lakes in the unpeopled wilderness,—that instinct should lead aright all the lower ranks of creation; and that the universal instinct of man, the highest order in creation,—the instinct of man, civilized or savage, in all nations and in all climes, —should lead him amiss as to life after death, the immortality of the soul.

And so, independent of authority and despite the oracles of modern science, we may rest assured that our friend still lives. The bars that caged his soul have been drawn away, and the perplexing mysteries so insolvable to our feeble finite faculties, with a naturally narrow limitation increased by the mists and clouds of passion and prejudice, have doubtless all been made clear to the unfettered spirit of our friend. But where and how the after and higher life is led, we know not. Our sweetest singer says:

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."

Mr. A. L. Larpenteur said:

Alexander Ramsey is dead. Goodbye, old friend; you have preceded us but a few days. Children, accept our sincere condolence, which we offer you on this day of your sad bereavement, and the sentiments of a bleeding heart, and bow with humble supplication to the will of Him who created him. His work was done and God called him home to rest.

We shall miss him from our festive board where it has been my privilege to sit with him for fifty odd years. Eighty-eight years of usefulness! What a lesson for others to emulate!

He has paid the debt due to our humanity, and his Creator has said to him, "Come home, good and faithful servant and reap your reward."

Minnesota owes you much. You took her while in her swaddling clothes; by your wisdom and sagacity you nursed her into maturity. And then again you were called upon to care for her in the Nation's greatest need. By your wise and prudent judgment of men and measures, you failed not to call into your counsels our best men for your lieutenants, as demonstrated in the selection of that Christian gentleman, the poor man's friend, General Henry H. Sibley, capable and honorable. Hence your administrations have been ever successful. Minnesota has honored you, 'tis true, but no more than you have honored her.

The name of Alexander Ramsey should be inscribed upon the indestructible Rock of Time, there to remain as a contribution from the State of Minnesota to History, in veneration of one of the most illustrious pioneers and founders of this great State, "Minnesota, the Gem of the Constellation."

Mrs. Vinnie Ream Hoxie said:

It would be superfluous for me to speak of the estimation in which Alexander Ramsey was held in this State, where he was loved so well, but of my personal experience I may briefly speak.

When, as scarcely more than a child, I competed for the honor of making the statue of Abraham Lincoln, he and other senators befriended the little western girl. President Lincoln had given me sittings at the White House for a bust, which was one of my earliest works, and I had been engaged on it five months when he was assassinated. He had become my warm friend, and was much pleased with the likeness I had made. Immediately after his death, Congress appropriated ten thousand dollars for a statue of the martyred President, which was to be in marble and placed in the rotunda of the Capitol. It required a great deal of courage in these men to be the friend of an unknown artist, who was daring to compete with experienced and famous sculptors, and I determined not to disappoint them.

Again, when I competed for the statue of Farragut, they stood by me with renewed zeal.

You can imagine, therefore, my mingled feelings of sorrow and gladness in having this public opportunity of expressing my gratitude, which has filled my heart to overflowing for many years.

All hail to Ramsey, great, good, tender-hearted leader! The memory of his life will help other men to live. All the youth of Minnesota have inherited from him the example of a great life and character.

General James H. Baker spoke as follows:

Referring to the recent Memorial Eulogy which I had the honor to deliver on the life and character of Alexander Ramsey, a question has arisen as to the correctness of the statement therein contained, that one of the noblest features of the treaty of 1851 was the fact of its absolutely pacific character, "not a soldier being present, nor were they at any time required."

Several eminent gentlemen are of the opinion that I was in error as to this statement, that there were no soldiers present at the time of the treaty. Among them are men such as Joseph A. Wheelock and General William G. Le Duc, each so well qualified to determine a historic question of that sort. I have also received several letters of like import. I respectfully insist, however, that I am absolutely correct. For this reason, among others, I placed the Ramsey treaty on the high moral plane of William Penn's celebrated treaty.

Now as to my authority for its absolutely pacific character: the only regular correspondent on the ground at Traverse des Sioux during the time of the treaty was James M. Goodhue, of the Pioneer, to whose elaborate letters we are chiefly indebted for a history of the treaty. They are on file in our vaults, and I have read them with care.

Under date of June 29, 1851, Goodhue says: "Arriving at Mendota, we took on board cattle, supplies, and wood. Then crossing over to Fort Snelling, Governor Ramsey came on board. It was expected that a company of dragoons from the fort would have gone up on the boat to be in attendance at the

treaty, but the notice for their departure had been so brief that they were not in readiness, and so the boat departed without them."

Nowhere in his series of daily letters does he subsequently refer to the arrival of any soldiers, but, on the contrary, in a very brilliant description of the scene, written July 15, 1851, he says: "Behold yonder on the sleeping hillside, the glorious flag of our country, every wave of which sends a pulsation of pride through American hearts, under its protection; a few tents and marquees, of a handful of men, constitute the Commission, unguarded by a single sentinel or musket, amid hundreds of savages. . . . ."

In a subsequent letter he gives the names of all the white men present at the treaty, as follows: "I will here give a list, as nearly as I can, of all the white men who compose our camp. Commissioners Lea and Ramsey, Secretary Foster, Hugh Tyler, Colonel Henderson, A. S. White, Wallace B. White, Alexis Bailly, F. Brown, R. Chute and lady, Messrs. Lord, Mayer, M. McLeod, Riggs, Williamson, H. Jackson, Hartshorn, J. R. Brown, H. L. Dousman, K. McKenzie, H. H. Sibley, J. La Framboise, W. H. Forbes, A. Faribault, and myself, and probably several others whose names do not occur to me."

Turn now to the U. S. Executive Documents, War Department, 1851, on file in our Library, and you will find, in the report of the colonel commanding at Fort Snelling that year, that he recites the causes why he was unable to respond to Governor Ramsey's request to send troops to the Sioux treaty at Traverse des Sioux, 1851. But now turn to these Executive Documents, 1852, of the War Department, and you will find the report of one Captain James Monroe, who was sent by the colonel commanding at Fort Snelling, at the request of Governor Ramsey, because of trouble with the Indians at the time of the payment, which report bears date November 19, 1852.

My good friends, Wheelock and Le Duc, have simply confounded events which occurred at the time of the payment with those of the treaty. The payment of money required by the terms of the treaty made in 1851, was not made till more than a year later, on November 19, 1852, when a part of the Indians, principally chiefs and head men, were re-assembled at Traverse des Sioux to receive their money. And it was on account of

serious difficulties with the Indians, by reason of the traders claiming most of the money, that Governor Ramsey was compelled to dispatch a courier to Fort Snelling for soldiers, which was responded to promptly by the coming of Captain Monroe with some forty dragoons.

That was the time, as the record shows, of the difficulties with the chief, Red Iron, and also with Captain Dodds. This was the time (November, 1852) when Red Iron became furious and organized the "soldiers' lodge" to resist the results of the treaty, and Governor Ramsey showed his courage and intrepidity by boldly confronting Red Iron, and actually casting him into prison, before the coming of the soldiers.

My friends have simply confounded the events of 1852 with the events of 1851, which, after a lapse of more than half a century, is not surprising.

Finally and conclusively, when Mr. Thomas Hughes, of Mankato, was preparing his excellent and exhaustive paper, "The Treaty of Traverse des Sioux," read before this society on September 9, 1901, with that care which always marks his historic researches, he visited Governor Ramsey in this city, and they went over the whole matter of the treaty in detail. Among the specific questions that Mr. Hughes asked Governor Ramsey, was, whether there were any soldiers present at the treaty, and he promptly replied, "No, there was not a single soldier present during the entire time of the treaty; but the next year, at the time of the payment, 1852, I had serious trouble with Red Iron and his followers, and I sent a hasty messenger to Fort Snelling, and Captain Monroe came promptly to my assistance. There was not a soldier present during the time of the treaty. We had perfect peace and good order, though there were thousands of Indians."

Mr. Hughes' history of the treaty will always stand as authority on that matter, as it richly deserves, by reason of the thorough care bestowed in its preparation. It assigns him a high position as a careful and valuable historian. It will be published in Volume X of this Society's Historical Collections.

I have been thus particular in setting at rest the rumor that there were soldiers present at this great treaty of 1851, because I have taken pride in bringing to the public eye the potent in-

fluence of that treaty upon the fortunes of Minnesota. And, moreover, the purely pacific character of the treaty was one of its crowning glories. I do not wish to see that laurel plucked away. To have soldiers there, would indicate some menace, or threat, or pressure upon the Indians. As the treaty now stands, historically, in all its essential features, it far outranks the celebrated treaty of William Penn, in 1683, and was the most peaceful, just, and orderly treaty, in all its appointments, magnitude, conduct, and results, ever negotiated with the aborigines of this country. And through it all Alexander Ramsey was the dominant and controlling spirit.

THE SECRETARY, MR. WARREN UPHAM, spoke last in this series of Memorial Addresses, as follows:

After a little more than seven years of association with Governor Ramsey in the work of this Society, I wish here to speak briefly, as my personal tribute of honor and love for him, of two admirable qualities of mind and character which he possessed in a most remarkable and unusual degree.

Having heard him converse times without number concerning the old settlers and the great leaders of our Territory and State, some of whom were politically his co-workers and others his opponents, I have never heard him express a word or thought of unkindness or depreciation of any person among all this very wide range of acquaintance through his fifty-four years of life in Minnesota. In general courtesy, sincere forgiveness of early wrongs and defamation, and a hearty kindness to all, from former political antagonists to the servants at his home, or to the worthy poor of this city, Governor Ramsey displayed invariably a very rare and grand magnanimity, a true greatness of spirit and nobility, which distinguished him as much as his long public services and honors. This quality gave him a serene and happy old age.

Another and equally observable characteristic was his entire freedom from self complaisance or even consciousness of his own achievements or greatness. Egotism had no place in his conversation or conduct. During all the sixty years of his public life, in Pennsylvania and Minnesota, he kept a series of diaries or memorandum books, noting events, names, and dates,

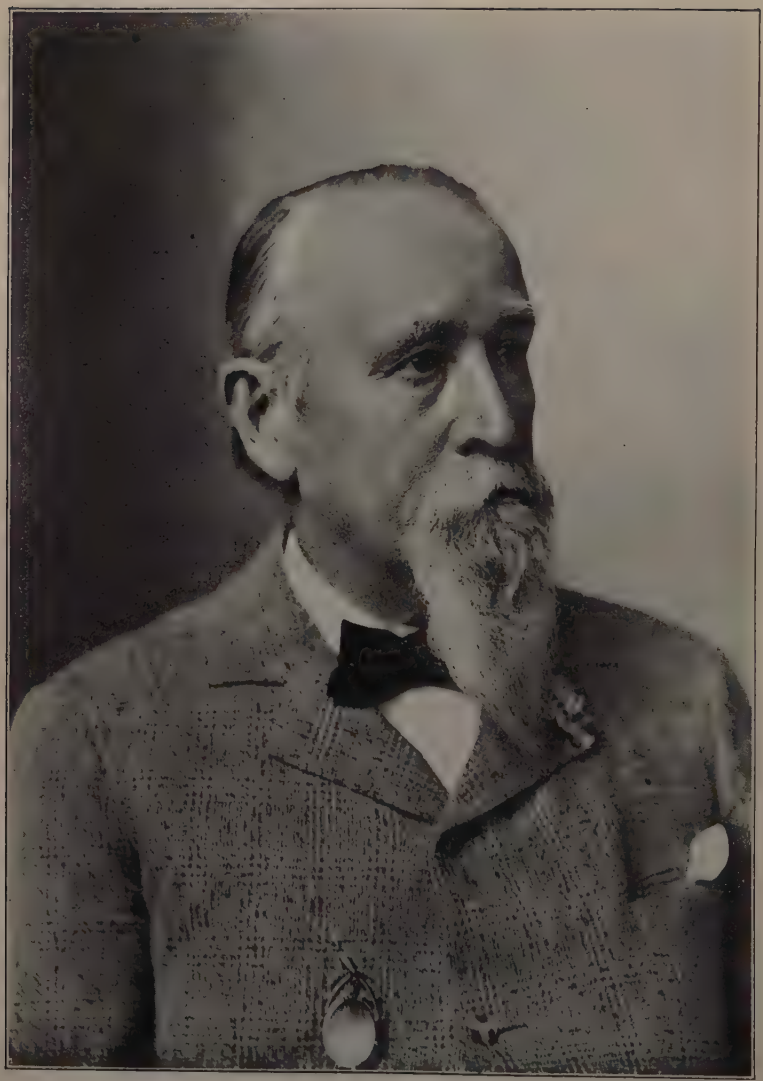
with occasional comments, which might be desired for future reference. These very concise contemporary records are of inestimable value for a biography of Governor Ramsey, and indeed for the broader history of Minnesota, to which he was often urged by the Council of this Society, that an assistant should work with him and have his life written and published under his supervision and approval. But this very earnest and repeated request was unavailing, because he had no desire for publication of any records concerning himself. Let us hope that this work will yet be done worthily, with filial care, to be a volume of this Society's Collections.

Among the grand statesmen who have nurtured and led our Territory and State through its first half century, Alexander Ramsey is preëminent, clearly recognized as the foremost, to whom the people of Minnesota owe the highest gratitude and honor. He had noble associates, as Sibley, Rice, Windom, Davis, Pillsbury, and others. We are so near to all these men, as in a range or group of mountains, that we cannot yet see fully their relative altitudes, but it is distinctly seen that Ramsey is the highest and first.

By many of our citizens he is best remembered as the vigorous "War Governor," who was the first to offer a regiment to President Lincoln in the dark days at the beginning of the Civil War, and who organized efficient defense of our frontier and suppression of the Sioux outbreak in 1862.

By others, of the younger generation, he will be known chiefly as a historic personage, by whom the treaties of 1851 at Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, and that of 1863 with the Ojibways of the Red river region, were enacted, giving to white immigrants nearly the whole of the fertile prairie country in this state. He will also be forever gratefully remembered by all teachers and pupils in our schools, as the founder of the state's magnificent public school fund.

In view of all his splendid services, and of the general popular regard and affection for the old governor, which General Baker so well emphasized in his recent address, it may very fittingly be said of Alexander Ramsey in his relations to the people of Minnesota, as was said of Washington in his relation to the beginning of our republic, that he was "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."



Chas E Flandrau

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF JUDGE CHARLES E. FLANDRAU, AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 9, 1903.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY THE PRESIDENT, GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The Executive Council of this Society has directed that the remaining portion of this evening shall be devoted to memorial addresses upon the life and services of our deceased councilor, friend, and brother, Hon. Charles E. Flandrau. These addresses must impress us with the great obligations that the citizens of the State and society generally owe to a few of the leading citizens of the generation that has passed or is rapidly passing away.

An organized State, containing two millions of people, with all its institutions of learning, of benevolence, and charity, dispensing knowledge, health, and happiness to all classes, that has grown up within the short period of fifty-four years, is not the result of mere chance and natural development. There must have been foresight, wisdom, energy, constantly applied to its organization, development, and establishment. The wisdom has been that of the ablest and best minds, and the energy that of the most vigorous and strong men, while the beneficial results come to all citizens of the State, and to all falling within its sphere of influence.

In looking back over the fifty-four years since the organization of Minnesota Territory, and scanning the names of those who have been most prominent and influential in promoting the growth of the State and the happiness of its people, we observe none who have wrought more constantly or zealously for the public welfare than our departed brother. It was his privilege to stand at the head of the stream from and through which have flowed all those great results which we are permitted to witness and enjoy. His hand is visible in nearly every provision of our

state constitution, and in the construction and application of those provisions to the real necessities and conditions of Minnesota life; in the enactment and interpretation of the laws passed by our legislature; and in the general policies of the state, which now affect all its citizens, and which will continue to affect all subsequent generations.

This Historical Society, as much as any branch of the state government, has been placed under especial obligations to our deceased brother. He has formulated more of the early history of the state than any other member of our Society, or than any citizen of the State, unless it be the Rev. E. D. Neill. He has been a regular attendant of the monthly meetings of the Society for more than twenty years, and it is altogether appropriate that here, above all other places, his memory should be kept green, and the traits of his character, among which are benevolence and beneficence to an extraordinary degree, should be preserved as ensamples to all.

I have the pleasure of introducing to you Hon. Greenleaf Clark, who was for many years a law partner of Judge Flandrau, who is most familiar with all phases of his character, who will now address you.

THE LIFE AND INFLUENCE OF JUDGE FLANDRAU.

BY HON. GREENLEAF CLARK.

It is the pious duty of this Society, our privilege, and our consolation, to set forth in connected outline a notable career. It would be strange, indeed, if this Society should not redeem its office of preserving the materials of history and biography, and of portraying "the very pith and marrow of the times," by the preservation of the record of the life and character of one who had so great a share in making history, and who did so much in the counsels of the society to preserve it. It would be stranger still, when the public press, and varied associations and bodies of men, are bearing tribute and homage to the memory of Charles Eugene Flandrau, if we should not bring a few affectionate and grateful leaves to set in the garland with which they are binding his brow.

He died on the 9th day of September, 1903, a member of our Executive Council, after nearly twenty-two years of consecutive service therein, during which he was constant in attendance on its meetings, contributed to its stores many valuable writings, sketches, episodes, books, relics, and mementoes, engaged in its free discussions, and was interested, devoted, and helpful in all its work. He contributed, it is thought, to the Society, in one way and another, more of the materials of history than any other one man, save only the Rev. Dr. Edward D. Neill.

Charles E. Flandrau was no ordinary man. He was not of the ordinary type of man. He was original, unique, picturesque, versatile, adventurous; and his career is illuminated by the light of an heroic spirit. He was born in New York, July 15th, 1828. He was descended on his father's side from the Huguenots, that wonderful people, who by the abiding power of earnest

conviction, through marvelous vicissitudes of toleration and persecution, of peace and woe, kept alive in France the spirit of constitutional and religious liberty, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the close of the eighteenth; the forerunners of the French Republic. The blood ran true on the line of personal and religious freedom. Judge Flandrau was absolutely tolerant of all sects and creeds, and had little sympathy with the sectarian disputes and contentions of the day, and still less for the warring religious factions revealed in history as "fighting like devils for conciliation, and hating each other for the love of God."

In his boyhood he was put to school in Georgetown, District of Columbia. At the age of thirteen he left school, and shipped as a common seaman on a United States revenue cutter, in which service, and a few voyages on merchant vessels, he continued for more than two years. So early appeared the restless spirit of adventure. It was a turning away from the trite and ordinary, to the strange, new, and majestic; a turning away from the narrow and uneventful confines of a schoolroom, to know and feel the spell and power of the mighty deep. It was the same spirit that took Henry M. Rice and Henry H. Sibley to the wilds of Minnesota. He then returned to his books in Georgetown, but only for a short time; after which he worked three years with his hands, at the trade of sawing mahogany veneers for cabinet making.

After these two exploits, he settled down to the earnest study of the law in his father's office in Whitesboro, New York; and, after his admission to the bar, he practiced for two years in association with his father, and then left in company with his life-long friend, the late Horace R. Bigelow, for the west; and the two reached St. Paul on the 2nd day of November, 1853, and formed a partnership for the practice of the law. Business did not flow in upon them very fast; indeed, there was not very much to flow anywhere; and Bigelow went to teaching school in St. Paul, while Flandrau, true to his star, started for the border.

Such was the start of two men, who, afterwards, became eminent in the law.

Mr. Flandrau travelled extensively through the virgin forests and majestic prairies, dotted with lakes set in the landscape like gems, and by the rivers whose sweet waters flowed through banks

of pristine form and beauty, far away to swell the tide of the mighty ocean, upon whose restless billows he had sailed, to see what nature had wrought in this his adopted land; and finally he settled down, among the settlers at the little hamlet of Traverse des Sioux, on the banks of the beautiful Minnesota river, where he afterwards built a dwelling for his border home, and commenced again the practice of the law. The courts, land offices, and justices, in, and before whom, he practiced, were widely scattered, and some of them at long distances from his home; and he would travel on foot in summer and winter to attend them. He had a strong, wiry physique, in which muscle predominated, and legs like an antelope. He would walk to Winona, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in three days, to attend to the adjustment of the rights of his neighbor settlers before the land office there, and would go on foot from his home near St. Peter to St. Paul, a distance of about seventy-five miles, stopping over only at Shakopee. Up to two years before he died he would walk a dozen miles for recreation. In this border life he soon became known throughout the Minnesota valley, and acquired a commanding influence upon its people. They respected, believed in, relied upon, trusted him, and looked to him for leadership and guidance, aye! and for help, too, in time of trouble. They sent him to represent them in the Territorial Council, and in the Constitutional Convention which framed the constitution under which the State was admitted to the Union. This trust and confidence enabled him to do mighty things for them on a subsequent fateful day.

In 1856 he was appointed by President Pierce as Indian Agent for the Sioux nation, and continued in that service till he was appointed, in 1857, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory. The former position brought him in close contact with the Indians, and he learned something of their language, and much of their character, capacity, and habits of life; and he came to have more respect for them than was entertained by those who knew them less.

Here let it be said that the men who were brought in closest contact with the Indians who occupied Minnesota, and knew them best, placed the highest estimate on their mental endowments and traits of character; and I instance Rice, Sibley, Bishop Whipple,

and Flandrau. General Sibley, pleading in the halls of Congress for the amelioration of their condition, characterized them as "a noble race, gifted with a high degree of intellect, and an aptitude for acquiring knowledge fully equal to that possessed by white men." Judge Flandrau, in his History of Minnesota, designates the Sioux and Ojibways as "splendid races of aboriginal men." Bishop Whipple, in a communication to the authorities at Washington, says: "The Indian is superior to any savage race on earth. In all the features of his character he is like our own Saxon race, before the cross had changed the heathen Saxon to a manly Christian." And as respects skill in warfare, I may add the testimony of army officers to the sagacity of their operations, notably the remarkable retreat of Chief Joseph from the southern part of the country to the British line, a retreat comparable to that of the "Ten Thousand."

The Indian massacres are all traceable, in the last analysis, to the encroachments upon their hunting grounds, their birthright, as they considered them, and to the means by which they were deprived of them, or forced to give them up; not that the Government or its agents meant to be unjust, but because such compensation as they got for these lands, by a treaty system of questionable wisdom, was dissipated by their own improvidence, or filched from them by the selfish greed and cupidity of white men, from both of which they should have been protected. The lordly Sioux, who had for centuries held it as his right to receive his sustenance from the open hand of nature, by the pursuit and capture of wild animals, birds and fishes, and the gathering of the berries, nuts, and wild rice, and who, by the roving blood of centuries in his veins, disdained to settle down on a little plot of ground, and tease from reluctant nature the means of subsistence for a compensation of toil, must needs give up his noble heritage to open the way for the new civilization. It was cruel at best; and his wrongs in the process added to the cruelty. No wonder that his untutored mind was, now and then, driven to the distraction of savage vengeance. Whatever others may have thought, or now think, such in epitome, was the view of these men, and obedience to the truth requires that their combined testimony should be stated.

The first serious Indian massacre in Minnesota, or in the country northwest of the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains,—the so-called Spirit Lake massacre,—occurred during Flandrau's agency in 1857; and an incident of it illustrates saving traits of Indian character, as well as the sagacity and efficiency of the Indian agent.

A small roving and predatory band of Sioux, not treaty Indians, under the leadership of Chief Inkpaduta, fell upon Spirit Lake and Springfield, two small settlements pushed to the extreme border, and killed all their inhabitants to the number of forty-two, save four women whom they carried into captivity. While Flandrau was trying to devise means for their rescue, well knowing that any demonstration of force would cause their murder, two of his agency Indians, brothers, who had been under the influence of the well known Rev. Stephen R. Riggs and other missionaries at the agency, while on a hunting party, ran across Inkpaduta's band, learned of his captives, bought one of them, giving for her all they had, and brought her to the missionaries, who turned her over to the agent. This solved the problem. Judge Flandrau gave the brothers who brought in the captive a large reward, $1,000, of which $500 was in cash contributed by himself and the post traders, and $500 in an obligation of the Territory of Minnesota, signed in its behalf by himself and the Rev. Mr. Riggs, which, though unauthorized, was promptly paid; the first bond, as Judge Flandrau naively said, ever issued by Minnesota. He then called for volunteer Indians to go and find Inkpaduta and purchase the other captives; and, stimulated by the hope of a like reward, there were plenty of volunteers, from whom he selected three and dispatched them, with an outfit of such things as tempt the savage, to find Inkpaduta and buy the remaining captives. They found two of them had been slain, but they bought and brought to the agency the other, for which they were abundantly rewarded. The full details of this massacre, and the military operations consequent upon it,—which were without results save the killing of a son of Chief Inkpaduta,—are now matters of history, made such by Judge Flandrau's pen.

At the first State election he was elected, at the age of twenty-nine years, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on the Democratic ticket, headed by Henry H. Sibley for governor; and it is

interesting to know that upon the opposing ticket, headed by Alexander Ramsey for governor, was his friend and companion, Horace R. Bigelow, as a candiate for Chief Justice of the same Court. The Sibley ticket was declared elected, and with it Judge Flandrau, who thus became a judge of the first Supreme Court of the State; but the doubt that hung over the decision of that contest has never been dissolved, but rather intensified by time. He resigned from the bench in 1866, before his term expired, and went to Carson City, in the Territory of Nevada. It was a change from the green prairies of Minnesota to dwell, for a time, under the brightest of skies, looking down upon a vast, tumultuous, rock-ribbed expanse of silent, arid, awe-inspiring desolation; a change from the new civilization which he had helped to usher in in Minnesota, to the rough, adventurous, lawless, desperate, and unformed community of an isolated mining town, to practice law in courts where weapons were sometimes exhibited, and tolerated, too, for intimidation or protection; still cavalier of the border, as he has been fitly designated.

After a few years' experience of this life, he returned to Minnesota, his adopted home, which I doubt if he ever intended to leave permanently, practiced law for a while in Minneapolis in association with Judge Isaac Atwater, his erstwhile associate on the bench, and, in 1870, settled down for good to the practice of the law in St. Paul, as a member of the firm of Bigelow, Flandrau & Clark. He was thus again brought into business association with his old friend and companion, Horace R. Bigelow, who back in 1853 had first essayed with him the practice of the law in Minnesota; and the relation continued until the retirement of Mr. Bigelow from practice. There was a strong tie between these two men, though they were contrasts. Mr. Bigelow was a rare man, endowed with clear perception, solid learning, professional courage, a spirit of patient investigation, and a devotion to duty that knew no bounds. He had few peers and no superiors in the Northwest. Judge Flandrau was impulsive and spontaneous. His first impressions were intuitions of legal truth, and he was always ready for the fray. Bigelow was a legal conscience, Flandrau a legal knight-errant, *sans peur et sans reproche.*

Of Judge Flandrau as a lawyer and a jurist I shall only add, that there was such appreciation of him as a judge, that he was

again made a candidate for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but was not elected,—his party being in a minority,— and the expression of an opinion that his gifts were better adapted to the trial court than the bench; and that, in fact, the arena and the forum were more congenial and grateful to him than the seclusion of the consultation room; and with this I leave the exhibition and characterization of his professional and judicial career in the competent hands of another.

He had marked and famous contemporaries with and among whom he wrought. In the law, I have already spoken of Mr. Bigelow; and there was James Gilfillan, the great Chief Justice, a giant of jurisprudence anywhere; and Francis R. E. Cornell, keen, penetrating and incisive, the Bradley of the Minnesota bench; and John M. Gilman, whose logic cuts like a knife, and who is sometimes seen renewing the attempt to "cut blocks with a razor;" and Cushman K. Davis, classical and scholarly, whose brilliant rhetoric carried with it the power to persuade as well as to charm. In civic affairs there were, naming them in the order in which they appeared on the scene, Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, and Alexander Ramsey, the State builders.

I come now to speak of a service of an episodal nature, outside of the then smooth current of his life, splendidly illustrative of his spontaneity, intrepidity and unconquerable spirit, for which I am constrained to think that he never received the full and ample plaudits that heroic deeds inspire and justify; probably for the reason that they were done at a time when people's minds were diverted to striking and absorbing events on larger fields, but not more heroic or memorable. It is the privilege of this society to accord to Flandrau, dead, the meed of praise to which he was entitled when living. While Judge Flandrau, then a judge of the Supreme Court, was quietly spending his vacation at his country home in Traverse des Sioux, a courier arrived at his house at four o'clock in the morning of the 19th of August, 1862, and told him that the Indians were killing the people in all directions, and that New Ulm was threatened. About noon of the same day he left St. Peter, which was near his home, in command of an improvised company of one hundred and sixteen men, and arrived at New Ulm about eight o'clock of the same day, after a march of thirty-two miles through a drenching rain. Reinforcements

of brave men came into the town from other places; and Judge Flandrau was, by general acclaim, made commander in chief of all the forces.

It is not my purpose to relate the history of that desperate struggle. This is in more competent hands; and it will be given by the favor of one who was present all the time, was near to Flandrau as an officer of his staff, and who shared with him the glories of the struggle, Major Salmon A. Buell. I shall only mention some of the general features of this memorable service, so as to give it a proper setting in this picture of his life which I am attempting. He made the disposition of his forces behind the improvised barricades, and exhorted the men, by all that life held for them, to stand against the insidious attacks of the red-handed demons, who were thirsting for their blood. He shared the peril, and set them an example of superb courage and unconquerable determination. He devised and led the desperate offensive movement which drove the Indians from the cover of the buildings they had taken, and saved the day. He burned, before the faces of their owners, 125 houses and stores, from the cover of which the Indians had been driven, in order that they might be compelled to attack the barricades in the open. He transferred the entire population of New Ulm, consisting of from twelve to fifteen hundred men, women, and children, to Mankato, leaving behind them their property, their homes, and their household gods, in order that they might be saved alive. No despot ever exercised more absolute power, or was more implicitly obeyed. He told me, with great glee, that a staid old German, who did gallant service in the struggle, seriously proposed to him to try two men at drum head court martial, and to hang them, for some irregularity or neglect of duty. And yet he took all this responsibility without a scratch of a pen, without even a verbal order by way of authority.

As Ethan Allen, when asked by the British general by what authority he demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga, answered, "In the name of the great Jehovah and the continental congress;" so Flandrau, if interrogated as to his authority, might well have answered, by the authority of the great Jehovah and the people of the Minnesota valley. Governor Ramsey addressed him as "Hon. Charles E. Flandrau," up to September 4th, he having been commissioned a colonel about that date.

Again, in talking with military men I have never met with one who did not say that the battle of New Ulm was ably conducted from a military point of view, though Flandrau was without military education or experience. On the 5th day of October he resigned his commission, and went quietly back to his duties as judge. If Flandrau had not been at New Ulm, what would have been its fate? Would the whole population have gone down in one maelstrom of wretched destruction? Who can tell? Would the besom of savage desolation have been pushed on down the valley? Who knows? It is useless to speculate. But the people of New Ulm and the valley had abundant reason to thank God for Flandrau in those fateful days. If one blast upon the bugle horn of Roderick Dhu was worth a thousand men, so the inspiration, intrepidity, and magnificent leadership of Flandrau in those desperate extremities were worth a host. The people of New Ulm always recognized the debt of gratitude. His presence there was known and felt as that of no other man was known and felt. He was received with a general acclaim that no other man was receivd with. And he had a warm spot in his heart for them. A community of peril had made them akin. When he died, they sent, not a delegation to attend the funeral, for that would be too cold and formal,—not words, for they had lost the power of adequate expression,—but New Ulm, not a personal friend or a few friends in New Ulm, but New Ulm sent to the sorrowing family a wreath of flowers, which was buried with him in the grave. Go, assemble the records of chivalry; point out the most memorable deeds recorded there, and those that surpass in heroism the deeds of Flandrau at New Ulm will be found to be few indeed. I hope that at no distant day a lofty pedestal will be erected in New Ulm, or on the grounds of the capitol, which shall be surmounted by his statue and shall bear the inscription, "Charles Eugene Flandrau, defender of New Ulm."

Among the gentle traits that characterized Judge Flandrau were remarkable evenness and sweetness of temper and disposition. In ten years of close association with him I never saw him perturbed, much less thrown off his base, by anger. He was kind and considerate, and, under all circumstances, a gentleman. In the most strenuous law suit he was courteous to the Court, the opposing counsel, and the witnesses. He was not vituperative of

others, even under great provocation, but was generous and charitable to their faults and frailties. If he left an enemy when he died, I know him not. Like every strong and high-minded man, he was deferential to women.

His published writings comprise a condensed history of Minnesota, published in 1900, as a preface to an Encyclopedia of Biography of Minnesota, and later as a separate book; articles published in the magazines of the day; and many papers scattered through the publications of this Society. He was one of a board of six commissioners who prepared and published, by authority of the Legislature, the military history known as "Minnesota in the Civil and Indians Wars, 1861-1865," for which he wrote the part pertaining to the Indian War. Most, if not all, of these writings were historical, biographical, or episodic in their nature. He rescued from oblivion interesting episodes of the early days, some of which changed the course of events of some importance, as, for example, the unique if not creditable way in which the almost accomplished removal of the capitol to St. Peter was defeated, though he had no hand in it.

His style was flowing, and in plain, unadorned narration, destitute of metaphor and of classic allusion. His early education in the schools was, as already appears, defective; but, as far as possible in a busy life, the defects in his early education were repaired by extensive reading and observation. His schools were a large miscellaneous library, kept for convenient use, not for ornament, and the great, ever changing kaleidoscope of the world. In speech he was easy and fluent, and always ready. I never knew a readier man. He had all his knowledge and all his faculties subject to call. In a great variety of discourse he always said something that held the attention of his audience.

Judge Flandrau was near to the people, and knew what in their lives concerned them most, and their way of thinking about things. This gave him power to reason with them and persuade them, and made him a most forceful and effective man in his addresses to the jury, a most dangerous adversary. Not the scholarly and classic Davis, nor any others, had advantage of him in this field.

In his social life he was genial, cordial and kind to all. The

lowly friend got the same cheery greeting on the street as the man of high degree. In his hospitable home, ever presided over by a graceful, accomplished and refined helpmeet, there was good cheer for the body, and charming entertainment for the mind. He was an easy and ready conversationalist, and as a *raconteur* he had few equals. A versatile life had enriched his mind with an ample supply of anecdote and episode. He was the life of many a small gathering, and he and his were always leaders in the enlarged social life. No social affair, whether of a formal character, or for free social enjoyment, was complete without them. He left his business in his office, and the rest of the day was given to his family, to his library, and to society. His buoyancy of spirits was perennial. Grief never presented itself to his fellow men in the shape of Judge Flandrau.

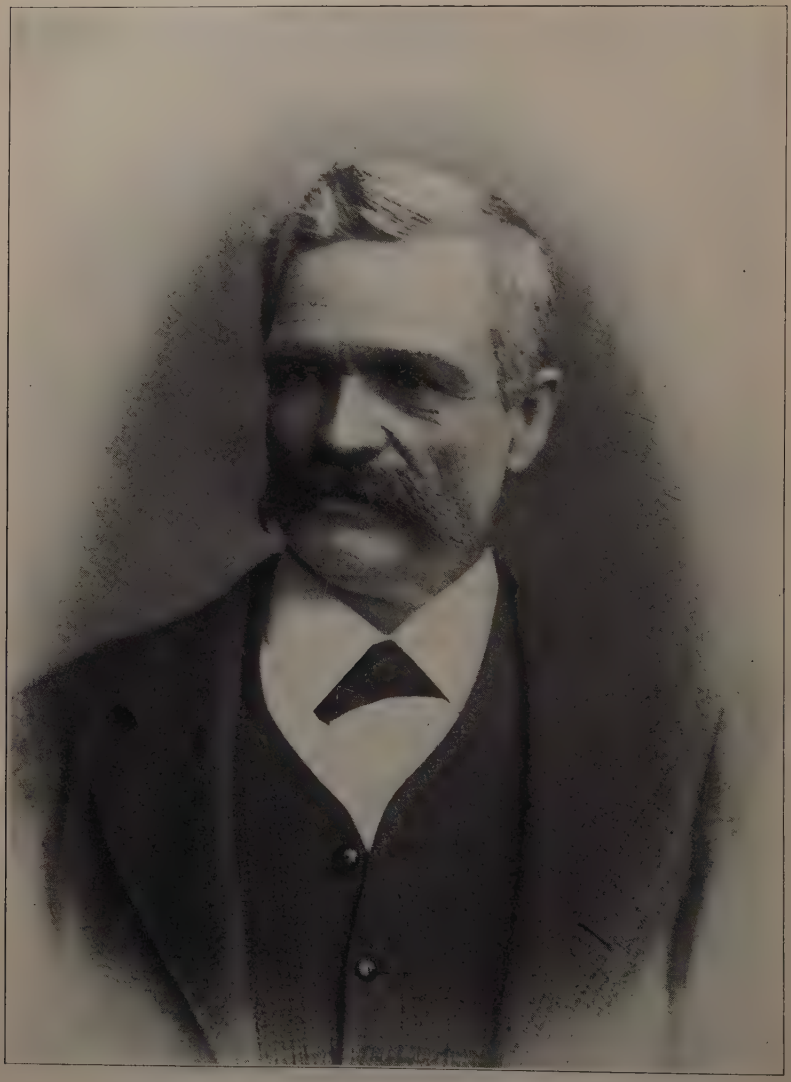
I should say he was the best known man in the State after the death of Governor Ramsey. He had made political addresses in all parts of the State. He was a candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket, the leader of a forlorn hope, but he entered upon the campaign with the same spirit and intrepidity as though there was a probability of his election, and expounded to the people, without abuse of his opponents, principles and policies, of the truth of which he had a profound conviction. He yielded to pressure, though very busy in his profession, and spoke in other campaigns, almost to the close of his life. In passing I wish to say, that, though he was a strong partisan, he was a patriot first. In a recent presidential campaign, he openly joined a minority faction of his party, and so aided in its defeat, because it had promulgated policies which he deemed prejudicial to the public welfare,—the same policies for which his party had deserted President Cleveland.

His fame was further spread by his professional reputation and labors in the courts, and by his addresses on many occasions and on varied subjects, and especially by the glory of New Ulm. The older citizens remembered it, and handed down to the new comers the fame of his glorious deeds in its defense. Minnesota owned Flandrau. They called upon him for addresses upon all sorts of occasions, whether to act as toastmaster or make a speech at a banquet, to celebrate an important historical event, to grace a reception, to make a memorial address, to preside at a conven-

tion, or to open a fair, anything and everything; and it seemed to be expected that he would comply, as indeed he did, whenever he could. The people respected, honored, and were proud of him. His responsive, brilliant, dashing qualities charmed them. He was a natural leader of men, and was recognized and called upon as such. I say it with the utmost assurance, that, if his political party had been in the ascendancy, there is no public position within the gift of the people of the State, to which he might not have successfully aspired.

Judge Flandrau was adapted by nature to a frontier life. It was grateful to him, gave scope to his adventurous spirit, enlarged his understanding, and broadened his sympathies. Minnesota will never have another Flandrau; for if a man of like gifts should arise, there would be no environment in which to set him.

In this epitome of his life and character I have had no occasion to draw upon any supposed license of panegyric. My only task has been to make the picture true to the life. The name and fame of Charles E. Flandrau are interwoven with the upbuilding of Minnesota, and will be perpetuated to future generations so long as history shall endure and heroic deeds shall receive the veneration of mankind.



S. A. Buell

Minnesota Historical Society,
Vol. X. Plate XX.

JUDGE FLANDRAU IN THE DEFENSE OF NEW ULM DURING THE SIOUX OUTBREAK OF 1862.

BY MAJOR SALMON A. BUELL.

The writer has been honored by an invitation from the Minnesota Historical Society, through a letter from its secretary, as stated therein, "because we associate you with Judge Flandrau as his adjutant at New Ulm," to write an article "on the services of Hon. Charles E. Flandrau in the Defense of New Ulm. . . . Our Publication Committee desire you to write as fully as may be agreeable to you, all to be used for our printing": hence the following article.

This narrative will necessarily be somewhat confined to those matters of which the writer had knowledge, either by observation or otherwise; though much will be related which came to him from the report of others, at the time. So many years have passed, that memory may fail him as to specific details, particularly names of persons; and should omission or mistake occur, which is more than possible, no one will be more disappointed or grieved by it than the writer himself.

Late in the fall of 1857, the writer became a resident of the town of St. Peter, in Nicollet county, Minnesota, and in the following winter or spring made the acquaintance of Hon. Charles E. Flandrau. He was then, and for some years before, a resident of Traverse des Sioux, situated in the same county, but about a mile farther down upon the Minnesota river. That acquaintance soon became a warm friendship, never interrupted, even through years of separation.

On the date of the admission of Minnesota into the Union (May 11, 1858), Judge Flandrau had been for some time the Federal Judge of that District of the Territory, and had already been elected one of the three judges of the Supreme Court of the new State.

At the time of the Indian Outbreak, August, 1862, he was still residing at Traverse des Sioux, and had been, before his first judgeship, the agent of the Sioux Indians who took the principal part in that movement. He was generally known as "Major" (then the title by custom of an Indian agent) or "Judge" Flandrau; and was often referred to, but always with respect or affection, as "Charlie" Flandrau.

FIRST NEWS OF THE OUTBREAK.

Late on Monday, August 18, 1862, report was rife in St. Peter that, early in the morning of that day, the Indians had "broken out" and killed several whites, at the Lower or Redwood Sioux Agency, about sixty miles northwest of St. Peter, and beyond the Minnesota river. Early the next morning Judge Flandrau came to St. Peter from Traverse and informed the citizens that about four o'clock that morning he had received a message from New Ulm, brought to him by Henry Behnke, one of the leading citizens of that town, to the effect that on the day previous (Monday), and at a place only a short distance west of New Ulm, some white men had been attacked by Indians, several of the whites being killed; that refugees, flying from Indians, were coming into New Ulm from every westerly direction; and that a general Indian attack upon the white settlers along the whole western frontier was believed, there, to have taken place. Judge Flandrau stated that he had forwarded the message into Le Sueur county and down the Minnesota valley, and that he now desired to raise, at once, as large an armed force as possible for the protection of New Ulm and the frontier west of it.

Note here that this message was for Charles E. Flandrau, and from a community thirty miles distant, in which he was not so frequent a visitor as many other leading men of the Minnesota valley. The shock of the Indian attack had almost paralyzed the people, and they turned at once to him for help.

His response was instant, and, sending his wife and infant daughter (one year old) to a place of safety, he took steps immediately to arouse the whole community thereabout, and down the river, to the danger, and to raise troops in Traverse, St. Peter, and Le Sueur county. Men of all classes rushed to his standard,

and he was made captain of over one hundred men, from Nicollet and Le Sueur counties.

ORGANIZATION OF VOLUNTEERS FOR DEFENSE.

In "Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars," Volume I, page 731, Judge Flandrau, writing in 1890 as one of the commissioners appointed by the State, said of this organization:

> Volunteers were called for, and in a very short time about one hundred and sixteen men were enlisted for any duty that might present itself. An organization was formed by the selection of myself as captain, William B. Dodd as first lieutenant, and Wolf H. Meyer as second lieutenant. I do not think we had time or inclination to complete the organization by sergeants and corporals. Immense labor was performed in the next few hours in the way of outfit.

His first marching order was, that eighteen men, who could immediately raise arms and horses, should hasten to New Ulm, as an advance guard, to report his coming with the main body, as well as to bring word of the situation there back to him, and to give all aid in their power. He well knew that a few armed men might count for much in such a crisis, both as aid and in giving encouragement. Henry A. Swift, who was afterward Governor, and William G. Hayden, both of St. Peter, were the first to obey this order, soon followed by sixteen men, commanded by one of their number, L. M. Boardman, sheriff of Nicollet county; the others being J. B. Trogdon, Horace Austin (afterwards Judge and Governor), P. M. Bean, James Horner, Jacob Stelzer, Philip Stelzer, William Wilkinson, Lewis Patch, Henry Snyder, Joseph K. Moore (postmaster at St. Peter), a Mr. Tomlinson, S. A. Buell, and three men whose names the writer cannot now recall with certainty, but thinks they were I. Birdsal, John Dorrington, and L. Martindale. All were, as he recollects, from Nicollet county, or from and about St. Peter.

In his first report from New Ulm to Governor Ramsey, dated August 20, 1862 (see the same work, Vol. II, page 165), Colonel Flandrau wrote: "We immediately on hearing of it [the Indian outbreak] raised 90 men and started for this point, where we arrived last night, between 9 and 10 o'clock." This number evidently was not intended to include this "advance guard of

[eighteen] horsemen, sent out by us," who were also mentioned by him in this report.

Boardman's command rode as swiftly as a prospective trip of thirty miles made prudent, but, when within about ten miles of New Ulm, stopped at an unoccupied farm house to escape a most terrific rain storm, and to rest their jaded horses. Cessation of the rain, and a short rest for their horses, sent them hurriedly onward.

Swift had already reached New Ulm, and, as soon as he could inform himself, reported in an open note to Captain Flandrau, by Evan Bowen, of Nicollet county, a volunteer messenger, the situation and the necessity of haste; in effect, that an attack was then being made upon the town by over a hundred Indians.

THE FIRST ATTACK AT NEW ULM.

Boardman met the messenger, read the message, hurried both on to Captain Flandrau, made all possible speed with his own party towards New Ulm, and in a short time, from some high ground passed over for the purpose, could see the town across the Minnesota river, still however a few miles distant. Over and back of its upper part (by the river) was a dense black cloud, against which, as a background, could be plainly seen the flash of guns, fired in either attack or defense, and burning stacks or buildings. The smoke and sparks were blown upon the town by the prevailing wind, its direction having probably dictated the point of attack, which seemed wholly confined to such upper part.

There were then two rope ferries across the Minnesota river, by which New Ulm could be reached, one abreast the town, the other at Redstone, about two miles below. Upon consultation with his party, Boardman determined to use the latter, with the hope, warranted by the appearance of the attack then going on, that the lower end of the town was not surrounded by the Indians. He proceeded to the Redstone ferry, but found that the ferry boat was on the other or New Ulm side, with no means of reaching it save by swimming. One of the party, whose name the writer cannot now recall, volunteered for the purpose and brought the boat over, the river being about fifty yards wide.

On the Nicollet county side the ground was high and com-

manding, but on the New Ulm side it was very low; and the narrow road from the ferry passed for about one-fourth of a mile over this low ground through a kind of coarse wild grass so dense and high as to almost conceal a passing horse and his rider. The swimmer was covered by the guns of the party, but a small number of Indians, ambushed in that grass, could, as all the party well knew, prevent the crossing; the most probable method being to allow the empty boat to be taken over, and then to fire upon the party while crossing and nearing the New Ulm shore. Beyond the grass, the road continued upon open ground, but so much lower than the plateau on which the town stood, as to hide the approaching party from the view of those in or about the town, until within a comparatively short distance of it.

The Boardman party crossed the ferry, and, aided by the conditions just described, dashed into the town at its lower end, without attack, but not without discovery, by the Indians; some of whom, in a very short time, passed down back of the town and held command of that lower ferry road. This was between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

The occupants of the town were principally engaged in defending it against the attack at the upper end, where they had already built a barricade across Minnesota street, the principal one of the town, and running about parallel with the general course of the river. Some parties, however, under the superintendence of Samuel Coffin, of Swan Lake, Nicollet county, were building another barricade across the same street lower down, so as to include the most densely built portion between the two.

Upon consultation by Henry A. Swift and some of the leading citizens of the place, as D. G. Shillock, John C. Rudolph, Charles Wagner, Peter Sherer, Captain Nix, John Hauenstein, and others equally prominent, but whose names the writer cannot now recall, with the Boardman party, it was deemed advisable to send another messenger to Captain Flandrau. L. M. Boardman had the best horse and then in best condition, and volunteered for this dangerous service. The only route left was by the upper ferry, abreast the town, but about half a mile distant over low ground. He started at once, and some Indians could be seen running from the lower end of the town, across this low ground, toward the ferry which he was trying to reach, and firing occa-

sionally at him. Luckily, however, as they had to keep out of gunshot of the town, they could not reach him, and he crossed the ferry in safety.

A wounded refugee had been left in a house in the extreme lower end of the town. At the request of D. G. Shillock, of New Ulm, one of the Boardman party, mounted, raised a squad of volunteer footmen, and accompanied Shillock to bring the wounded man within the barricade. This man, though badly wounded about the body, was able to walk slowly, with the help of Shillock and another. The Indians fired on this party several times, but at too long distance for execution, being kept down behind a ridge of ground by the counter fire of the whites. The wounded man was brought in safely. This was a short time before sunset.

Just before this party reached the lower barricade, a horseman was seen coming at full speed over the prairie ridge just back of the town, the Indians firing at him from behind it. His horse was hit and killed, but he escaped. As the writer recollects, he was Ralph Thomas, and was one of a party of seven refugees trying to enter the town. The Indians shot and killed all the others, save one whose hip was broken. He could not be seen from the town, and with his broken hip lay upon the prairie all night. He was brought in next morning, conscious, and said that he had dragged himself, during the night, up to a cow and with her milk had kept up his strength. He lived but a little while longer. The writer cannot recall the name of any other of the party. Ralph Thomas reported that there were over a hundred Indians in the body which fired upon his party.

About sunset (Tuesday), the Indians, repulsed at every point, so far as the town was concerned, discontinued the attack and retired.

Of this advance guard, Judge Flandrau, in the work before cited, Vol. I, page 732, wrote as follows: "Our advance guard reached New Ulm about 4 or 5 o'clock p. m.—just in time to aid the inhabitants in repelling an attack of about one hundred Indians upon the town. They succeeded in driving the enemy off, several citizens being killed, and about five or six houses in the upper part of the town being fired and destroyed."

I. V. D. Heard, on Gen. Sibley's staff, wrote in 1863, in

his work entitled, "History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863," page 80, of this advance guard: "It is conceded that these men saved the town."

Governor Swift's message reached Captain Flandrau promptly, and settled in his mind that New Ulm, not Fort Ridgely, should be his destination. About ten o'clock that night, he, with the rest of his command in wagons, reached New Ulm. He immediately posted sufficient guards, and the town felt secure.

FLANDRAU AS COMMANDER AND HIS STAFF.

On Wednesday morning, August 20th, Captain Flandrau was, by general consent, chosen commander of the forces in New Ulm and of the town, with the rank of Colonel, and was given power to make such organization, and appoint such officers to carry it into effect, as he might deem best. He appointed a second in command, a provost marshal, chief of staff, quartermaster and commissary, and an aid, and a most competent medical staff. A provost guard was organized; and assistant quartermasters and commissaries were designated and put to work at once.

Order was established; houses, with the least possible inconvenience to their owners, were appropriated and numbered, and bedding, etc., was provided and put into them; commissary and ordnance stores were secured or arranged for; and, before night, provision was made for the troops present and to come, as well as for the constantly arriving refugees from the frontier.

In the work before cited, Vol. 1, page 732, Judge Flandrau wrote of this organization:

> It soon became apparent that to maintain any discipline or order some one man must be in command of all the forces. The officers of the various organizations assembled and chose a commander; the selection fell to me. A provost guard was at once established and order inaugurated. The defenses were strengthened and we awaited results. Captain William B. Dodd, my first lieutenant, was made second in command, and S. A. Buell, provost marshal, chief of staff, and general manager. He had been a naval officer, and was a good organizer. Captain S. A. George, a young man, who had been for a short time in some eastern regiment, who joined us at St. Peter, was made an aid, and proved very efficient in reducing matters to a manageable condition.

The officers referred to in this quotation, as the writer now recollects, were Captain Charles Roos, then sheriff of Brown county, Captain Lewis Buggert, and Captain John Belm, all connected with the organized militia of Brown county; A. M. Bean, captain of a small company from Swan Lake, who were the first men from Nicollet county to reach New Ulm on Tuesday, August 19th; and perhaps Captain William Bierbauer, of Mankato; and also their lieutenants and those of Captain Flandrau's company. Their choice of Flandrau as commander was confirmed by other leading citizens of New Ulm, and in fact by all participating.

Afterwards, when he received his own commission from Governor Ramsey, Colonel Flandrau issued commissions, dated September 30, 1862, to Buell and George, the former with the rank of captain, and the latter of lieutenant, such rank in each case to date from August 19th, the day of their several appointments. These commissions were recognized by the State authorities. As Captain Dodd was killed in battle on August 23rd, no commission, the writer thinks, was ever issued in his case.

The position of "general manager" was deemed by Colonel Flandrau to include the duties of commissary and quartermaster. Accordingly, the chief of staff made certain appointments to assist him in his duties as provost marshal, commissary, and quartermaster. These assistants were Henry A. Swift and William G. Hayden, of St. Peter; John C. Rudolph and D. G. Shillock, of New Ulm; and several others of its influential citizens, whose names the writer is unable to recall with certainty, but thinks that among them were George Doehne, Jacob Pfenninger, and H. J. Vajen. Suffice it to say that all who were so called upon to assist most willingly complied with the request, and by their ability and energy made possible and effectual the organization and its results just mentioned. These preparations met the demand of the whole stay at New Ulm, and no one suffered for what they were to supply, so far as known at the time.

The preparation for defense, under the immediate supervision of Captain Dodd, was constantly going on, and this was the more energetically attended to because it was believed that the Winnebago Indians, about four hundred vigorous, well armed men, would join the Sioux in the outbreak.

NEW ULM AS A STRATEGIC POINT.

Colonel Flandrau saw and thoroughly appreciated the fact, that New Ulm was the proper place to hold as an advance-post. It was the nearest to the frontier, except Fort Ridgely, which was unfortified, scantily garrisoned, on the wrong side of the Minnesota river for the fleeing refugees, and unable to supply them, even if they reached it, with food and shelter. Mankato, thirty miles further off, was too distant, as was also St. Peter, besides that the latter was on the other side of the river; and these two towns were, next to New Ulm, the nearest to the frontier, where it was possible to furnish food and quarters to the refugees. Furthermore, to hold New Ulm was to defend the towns and country east of it, and to give the state and federal authorities time to mobilize on the frontier sufficient force for its protection.

On Monday morning the outbreak commenced; by that afternoon the Indians had nearly reached New Ulm; on Tuesday morning, Flandrau, thirty miles away, first heard of it; by ten o'clock that night he had organized a large force, sent forward part of it in time to help save the town from an attack then being made upon it by the Indians, and had placed his whole force in it; and now, by Wednesday night, he had organized and established an advance-post of defense to the towns and country in its rear, and a most accessible haven of refuge to the frontier settlers, including many sick and wounded, who were fleeing from Indian atrocities.

Yet he had no commission of authority, and not one man in his command had ever signed enlistment or sworn obedience; still, discipline was complete, as the result of his personal character and influence, acting upon a brave people, eager to aid the suffering, and recognizing his ability to lead and direct them.

SCOUTING EXPEDITIONS.

On Thursday, August 21st, Colonel Flandrau sent a small detachment about eight or ten miles westward to scout for Indians, and to bury any dead whites, bring in any wounded, and aid any

in need, who might be found. They buried some dead, and returned that night, bringing no news of Indians.

During that evening a reliable report came to Colonel Flandrau, that some thirteen persons were concealed for safety in a slough about fifteen miles west of New Ulm.

On Friday, August 22nd, early in the day, he sent out another expedition of about a hundred and fifty men, one-third mounted, in charge of the writer, and the remainder in wagons, all under command of Captain George M. Tousley, to bring in these concealed refugees, and to bury any dead whites to be found. This force buried many dead, and rescued the thirteen refugees, one of whom was badly wounded and died a day or two afterward.

This expedition at times during the afternoon heard heavy firing in the direction of Fort Ridgely, yet saw no Indians. However, late in the afternoon, while on the return march, Indian signals, as claimed by experienced frontiersmen present, were observed towards New Ulm on or about the route of march during the forenoon from it; which, in their judgment, indicated the possibility of an ambush by the Indians, if return should be attempted by the same road. Captain Tousley very wisely held a consultation with men of judgment in his command, particularly some whose experience had given them a knowledge of the Indians. Among these men was Dr. Asa W. Daniels, of St. Peter, one of the medical staff, who had been some years earlier the Government surgeon at the Agency of these very Indians. No one consulted gave opinion more regarded and acted upon.

As a result of the consultation, Captain Tousley very properly determined to return to New Ulm with all possible haste, but by another and more northerly road, to reach which he would have to march several miles across the open prairie, thus extending the time originally allotted to such return by several hours. A good guide was in the party, and the march from one road to the other was made after dark. The mounted men were kept well out in front and rear, and on each flank, in order to give opportunity in case of attack to make a corral with the wagons (the team horses being drawn inside), within which the mounted men (and even their horses, if found advisable) could be brought, thus forming a barrier from behind which the footmen and dismounted horsemen could be most efficient in defense. All the time Indian night-signals, as claimed by men of experience in such matters,

were seen along or near the route of march in the morning from New Ulm. This was a most trying responsibility and service for Captain Tousley, made more so because he was far from well. He knew that Colonel Flandrau expected his return without fail that night, for the absence of such a large force greatly weakened the defense of the town; and he, Captain Tousley, was determined to obey the order. Yet a march at night across a trackless prairie, necessarily resulting in some confusion, and the possibility that these night-signals were to a body of Indians upon the very road he was seeking, presented problems difficult for even trained troops to solve, let alone an improvised body such as his command.

As stated, Captain Tousley was not at all well; yet he remained on horseback and in command longer, possibly, than a due regard to himself required; but in the latter part of the evening he was compelled by physical disability to dismount, get into a wagon, and relinquish the command to a junior.

The expedition arrived safely at New Ulm about midnight, much to the joy of Colonel Flandrau, who felt all the time the very great risk he was taking in so greatly depleting the defensive force of the town to save those thirteen persons; but it would not have been prudent to send out a smaller expedition. That Friday was, as Colonel Flandrau afterward said, the most trying day he had ever, to that time, experienced; but he could not harbor for a moment the thought of abandoning those thirteen unfortunate refugees to their fate, although military necessity might have justified such a course, in the mind of some commanders.

At this time, late Friday night, the defenders, including the returned Tousley expedition, numbered about 325; the majority were poorly armed, a few mounted, the remainder footmen. To be protected by these, there were in the town, as estimated, over 1,500 women, children, and defenseless men.

BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE ON SATURDAY.

On Saturday, August 23rd, early in a clear, beautiful morning, there could be seen, evidently on the other side of the Minnesota river, upon the upland, a series of fires, burning stacks or buildings, commencing towards Fort Ridgely and nearing New Ulm. Soon an aggregation of them appeared about north, which

proved to be the burning of a small hamlet, called Lafayette, a few miles from New Ulm.

Colonel Flandrau supposed Fort Ridgely had fallen, and that the Indians were approaching on the other side of the river, and probably also on this side, to join forces at New Ulm. He deemed it prudent to send a detachment, large enough to reconnoiter in force on the other side of the river, and, if possible, to check the advancing Indians in case of contact with them. Lieutenant William Huey volunteered to perform this duty, and was sent with about seventy-five men as well armed as any in the command, for the purpose, but with additional instructions to reconnoiter well at and about the ferry before crossing, and to guard securely the approach to it in his rear after so doing. It was expected that he would return in a few hours, at most, if successful; but at once, should he meet a superior force. This detachment crossed the river at the upper ferry in front of the town, but about half a mile distant from it; was met almost immediately by a superior force of Indians, cut off from crossing back upon the ferry, and compelled to retreat, away from the river, into Nicollet county, with a loss of twenty-one missing and two killed or wounded. Lieutenant Huey, by this retreat, saved about fifty of the best men of his command; whilst otherwise he would probably have been surrounded at the ferry, and every man massacred.

This misfortune left only about 250 armed men to defend the town; and soon the magnitude of it was severely felt, for a large party of Indians began to appear in the rear of the town, all in plain view. With a good field glass, which was placed on the top of a high building in the center of town, Colonel Flandrau could watch every movement of the enemy; as could anyone, from any commanding point, with the naked eye.

Immediately in the rear of the town was a prairie, slightly rising for about one-third of a mile in a direction away from the river, and then descending for about two-thirds of a mile farther to a slough, which lay along the foot of a high wooded bluff, and extended, about parallel with the river's course, from below the lower nearly to the upper end of the town; but out beyond the upper end of the slough the bluff was not wooded. Crossing this slough, nearly in the center between the upper and lower ends

of the town, was a causeway road. The Indians came in crowds over this causeway road, a part turning to their right and a part to their left, the latter soon being joined by another crowd that came down over the prairie bluff and above the end of the slough. As yet, they made no movement toward the town, evidently waiting for the rest of their party, which continued to come by the same routes.

Colonel Flandrau directed some mounted skirmishers to be thrown out on the prairie toward the slough, and Captain Dodd placed them well down the incline and so close to the Indians that the latter began firing upon them, and there was a lively exchange of shots between the skirmishers and the Indians. The horse of one skirmisher was severely wounded by this Indian fire, and, taking the bit between his teeth, ran at full speed down the hill towards the Indians, carrying his rider with him. Luckily, the horse's strength gave out and he made a staggering fall, lessening his speed thereby, when still about a hundred yards from the Indians, who had ceased firing at them, evidently feeling sure the horse would bring his rider into their lines. The rider was unhurt by the fall, sprang to his feet, ran up the hill, and escaped with his arms and ammunition, though while running a large number of shots were fired at him by the Indians. He obtained another saddled horse in a short time, and went to the front again, seemingly more worried about the loss of his horse, with the saddle and bridle, than by his own danger. The writer knew at the time, but cannot now remember, the name of this skirmisher.

For some reason not understood by Colonel Flandrau, or anyone else, so far as expressed, the Indians delayed for more than an hour making any general movement, after all seen coming down the bluff had joined the main body on the town side of the slough. They may have been feeling the strength of the defense by this skirmishing fire, or waiting for some movement, or signal of it, on the river side of the town, where Lieutenant Huey and his force had been cut off. The latter seemed to be the opinion of Colonel Flandrau at the time. But whatever it was, it enabled him to have Captain Dodd form the main line of defenders behind these mounted skirmishers in such a position that, on account of the nature of the ground, it could not be seen by the In-

dians until they had come away from the slough and a long distance up the incline, and of course much nearer the town.

NUMBER OF THE SIOUX ENGAGED IN THE ATTACK.

During the time of this approach and delay of the Indians, they were counted by a number of persons, either through the field glass on the high building mentioned, or by the unaided eye from commanding points, being thereby estimated at from 650 to 800. Colonel Flandrau himself, however, made the smaller estimate of about 350. In making these estimates, no account was taken of the Indians across the river in the timber, who had attacked Huey; they were two miles or more from the slough, and on the other side of the town. They could not possibly have joined the body at the slough, since their attack upon Huey, without being seen, and they were not seen.

In Judge Flandrau's account of the battle of New Ulm (same work, Vol. 1, page 732), he wrote: "As I have learned since, from educated half-breeds who were among the attacking party, the enemy comprised about six hundred and fifty fighting men, all well armed and many mounted."

Louis Robert, then of St. Paul, was at Fort Ridgely during the attack upon it by the Indians on Wednesday, August 20th, and took part in the defense. He was an old Indian trader, familiar with the Sioux, understood their language, and had often seen them in large bodies at treaties, payments of annuities, etc. On Friday, he started from Fort Ridgely to go to New Ulm, about sixteen miles distant, "but had not gone over two or three miles before he found himself surrounded by a large number of Indians, who were marching to the attack of the fort. He hastily concealed himself in the grass, in a slough, where he remained till night, when he again essayed to go on, but had scarcely left his place of concealment before he was discovered, and again beat a hasty retreat to the slough, where he remained, standing in the water, holding his gun above his head, the remainder of the night. While in this position, but a few rods from the road, he thinks not less than one thousand warriors passed him in the early dawn of Saturday, on the way to New Ulm." (Bryant and Murch, "Indian Massacre in Minnesota," page 203.) Charles S. Bryant, A. M., one of the authors, was a scholarly man, living in St.

Peter at the time, and had every opportunity, which he well improved, to get at the facts in regard to the Indian outbreak of 1862.

It is the writer's belief that the plan of Little Crow, who commanded the Indians, and of his advisers, was to make the attack upon the rear of the town, with the hope that the defenders, supposing that the front next the river with its ferry, was open for their retreat, would make less resistance, and thus be the more easily driven to the open bottom between the town and river. When at the ferry, they would find themselves confronted by the party concealed there, and be massacred between the two bodies of Indians. But, if this were the plan, it was disclosed by the Huey reconnaissance, and, however disastrous that seemed, it may have been a blessing; for white men, surrounded by attacking Indians, fight hard, with no thought of surrender.

LATER PART OF THE BATTLE.

About ten o'clock on Saturday forenoon, the Indians at the slough, having formed a strong line with its flanks curved as if to envelop the town, advanced slowly up the prairie slope, firing from different points of their line and thereby driving in the mounted skirmishers. When this advancing line came into view of the main line of the defenders, now increased by the dismounted skirmishers, the Indians, still holding their formation, rushed, with a yell never forgotten by one who heard it, upon the town, firing generally when within ordinary gun-shot. This fire was entirely too heavy for the defenders, and, after returning it until a few of them were hit, their line gave way, and they retreated upon the town and into the outskirts of it.

Here the Indians made an irreparable error; they occupied some buildings passed by the retreating defenders, which broke the effect of the Indian attack; it was no longer united. Otherwise, while they had the defenders on the run, they might possibly have driven them through the town, and down onto the open bottom. But the writer believes, and then believed, that the vigorous and probably effective fire of some of the better armed defenders drove these Indians into the buildings, and thus broke their line of attack; thereby enabling Colonel Flandrau and others

to rally the defenders against the remaining Indian line, compelling those forming it to take cover, and giving time for all the defenders to get into buildings themselves.

At this time, Colonel Flandrau was applied to for authority to burn all the buildings outside those occupied by the defenders, so far as might be possible. He was loth to destroy the property of this stricken people, but as a military necessity ordered it. Volunteers, covered by the guns of the defenders in the buildings behind them, went hastily and crouchingly over open ground and fired some buildings and stacks between the two lines. This, wherever possible and done, made an open space, leaving no cover for the Indians from which to make a closer attack. The misfortune was, that this was not possible everywhere along the defenders' line. The fight soon became a driving by the Indians, and a burning by the whites as driven back out of the buildings by superior force, which appeared on every side. The Indians burned buildings also, but generally, it seemed, in order to take advantage of the wind and fire the town inside the defenders' line.

A little after noon, Captain Dodd, second in command, was misled by a ruse of mounted Indians, on the lower-ferry road just where it rises to the plateau on which, at some distance, the town stands. He believed it was a party of whites coming to relieve the town, but in doubt about entering it, and, in order to encourage them to enter, he called upon some footmen who were near to follow him, and rapidly rode outside the lines of defense about seventy-five yards. There he was fired at by some Indians in ambush. He wheeled his horse around, rode back about sixty yards, and then fell heavily to the ground. The horse keeping on got inside the lines of defense, and fell dead soon after. The footmen following him had at once retreated within the lines.

An officer and three other defenders rushed out to Captain Dodd, as he was struggling ineffectually to get onto his feet, and brought him inside the defenses. All that could be done for him then was to place a long board with a stick of wood under each end of it, thus making a spring board, lay him upon it, with a coat folded under his head, and give him a drink of water. This was done in the lower story of a house on the very line of defense, while the defenders were shooting from the upper story. He was perfectly conscious, said he was mortally wounded, and gave

orders for all to leave him and go up stairs to the defense of the building. His only request was that, should the building be abandoned, he be first carried out of it, so that the Indians would not get him or his body. As the officer who had helped carry him in was (by his order) leaving him, Captain Dodd took his hand in his own, pressed it, and said, "I've felt hard against you, but I see I was wrong; forgive me." He died some hours afterward, yet not until he had been carried to another house, laid upon a comfortable lounge, and a surgeon brought to him. He gave his life for his neighbor; what more can any brave man do?

His fall seemed to encourage the Indians, and, as the wind blew upon that part of the town, the vigor of the attack at that point greatly increased, and they began to appear in large numbers there. This was reported to Colonel Flandrau, and gathering all the men to be spared from the other parts of the town, making a party of defenders at that point of about sixty, he made a sally with this force, on foot, and drove a body of Indians more than double his own number, who were then almost within the defenses, completely outside, and scattered them, but with a loss of two whites killed and several wounded. George Le Blanc, a half-breed, and a leader among the Indians, was also killed and left just within the line of defense.

In this sally Colonel Flandrau showed not only bravery of a high order, but presence of mind and quickness of thought, in a way that indicated military instinct.

The defenders' line here formed a right angle. One side was a large frame house in a lot fronting on the main street and running back to a point where the ground fell off quite abruptly over fifteen feet to a lower plateau. The other side was a smaller house in a fenced lot, fronting on a cross street, and running back along the top of this bluff to a point within about fifty feet of the rear part of the other lot. It had been ascertained that the Indians, in large numbers, were crawling up under this bluff toward this angle, being entirely safe from the fire of the defenders in the large house, and comparatively so from that of those in the smaller one. In the vacant space between the two lots there lay quite a number of saw-logs. Here the Indians began to gather, and the only course left for the defenders was to come out of the houses and by a sally in the open drive them away.

For this purpose Colonel Flandrau gathered his sallying force, taking all the defenders out of the large house, who first fired it well inside with straw taken from beds and saturated with kerosene oil. Because of the prevailing wind, the smoke poured out of the windows in the side of this house toward the inside of the defenders' line, and his party was hidden by this smoke from the view of the Indians in the vacant space between the two lots; but *he* could see part of the front of the fenced lot on the cross street. A defender, evidently from this smaller house, was seen to rush through the gate into the street, and almost immediately fall, shot by Indians hidden under the bluff, showing that some of them had passed from the rear to the front of the lot by crawling along close under the bluff. Instantly Colonel Flandrau, as he afterwards expressed himself, saw that to make a feint toward the front of that lot would give him and his party an advantage in the real attack at its rear. He ordered an officer present to take three more defenders and rescue that fallen man, who seemed still alive.

These four defenders rushed out of the smoke toward the front of the fenced lot, and immediately came in view of the Indians at its rear, who evidently supposed the attack of the defenders was being made at that point, and turned their attention to the aid of their comrades who had gone under the bluff to the front of the lot. Colonel Flandrau followed this feint by rushing with his whole party out of the smoke to the rear of the lot, taking the Indians there, as it were, in their rear and flank. This he always believed gave him and his party the advantage and got the Indians on the run at once, from which they never recovered.

The four defenders making the feint brought in the wounded man, but one of their number was shot through the shoulder, the Indians being only a few yards off under the bluff. The necessity, however, for their rushing at once to the rear of the lot, to aid in meeting the real attack by Colonel Flandrau, probably saved the lives of all four making this feint.

This practically ended the fight for that day; the fire of the Indians being gradually slackened until sundown, when it ceased, leaving the defenders with a loss of nine killed, and about fifty wounded so severely as to be unable to fight. The remainder were worn, and glad to rest and eat. Lunch carried to the points of defense had been the method of refreshment since breakfast.

INSTANCES OF BRAVERY.

When the first break in the defenders' line took place, Captain Saunders got a portion of his men into an unfinished brick building near, and by holding it checked the advance of the Indians at that point. He was, however, very soon wounded, compelled to retire, and had to be supported into the hospital. His men continued to hold the position, unaware that the defenders' line to their right had been driven much farther in, thereby exposing them to the imminent danger of being cut off from the town.

Henry A. Swift, who was fighting on foot in the line, a short distance off, saw this situation at once, and by his coolness, courage, and example, enabled a mounted officer to form and hold a line of about forty footmen, which closed this gap, forced the Indians, who were rushing into it, to take cover in some buildings, and gave time for the officer to ride out and get Captain Saunders' men from their exposed position into another building farther in. That building they successfully held, and did good execution from it, until ordered out in the evening, when it became necessary to shorten the line of defense.

During the movement just described, Mr. Swift, as he had done a short time before on another part of the line for Colonel Flandrau (hereafter related), saved the life of the writer, as he has ever since believed, by warning him when he was unwittingly riding into an ambush of about fifteen Indians. This warning enabled him in good time to check and wheel his horse to the left, at the same moment placing his own body as low as possible along the left side of the horse; so that only one shot of the Indian fire took effect, by slightly clipping the horse's right ear.

The men forming the line just mentioned were then ordered into buildings. Swift took about twenty of them, seized a square brick building in the back part of the town, and, port-holing it, held the position until the end of the fight on Sunday. This building was the advance-post of defense in that part of the town, and the fire of its garrison commanded open ground on each side of it, as well as in front. Most excellent work was done by this fire, and it covered a long portion of that part of the line of defense.

D. G. Shillock noticed a party of about fifteen Indians seizing a house, which, if held by them, would be a great menace to that part of the defenders' line. He gathered a party of defenders, less in number, led them into the house and drove the Indians from it. As the writer recollects, Shillock was then or soon afterward, unluckily for himself and the defenders, badly wounded. Though he recovered and lived for years afterward, he carried the ball in his leg, at times a most painful reminder of the battle of New Ulm.

During the whole of Saturday's fight the streets whose course was toward the river were to a great extent covered by the fire of Indians located on the high prairie ridge just back of the town. Several of the wounded among the defenders, and possibly some of the killed, were hit while attempting to cross these streets within the lines of defense. After they had become a little used to the Indian fire, some instances occurred, when it became necessary for a party of defenders to cross such a street, in which one defender volunteered to start first and draw the fire of the Indians, so as to lessen the danger of crossing to the rest of the party following him. Of course, such crossing could only be successfully made at the swiftest possible run.

At one time that day, some men with good guns were needed in the lower part of the town. An officer went up into the central part to find such, and was followed back by two volunteers, John Hauenstein and George Spenner, each of whom possessed a Turner rifle, a most excellent and far-reaching weapon. They had been firing from behind chimneys on the tops of houses, but could be spared for the other work, to reach which they risked their lives in crossing the streets just mentioned, and afterward in the lower town did good work indeed. There were too few of such weapons among the defenders that day.

The foregoing instances have been given as those most clearly retained in the writer's memory; but where all did so well, it seems almost wrong to specialize in any case.

Colonel Flandrau, during the latter part of the day and in the evening, caused a barricade to be constructed around the central part of the town, across exposed open spaces, by which, in connection with buildings, the line of defense was greatly shortened, and so of course made much more easy to hold. All the defenders were ordered within it, and all the buildings ouside that

could probably be used as cover for attack by the Indians were burned. This preparation was made for the morrow, as it was known that the Indians still surrounded the town, though withdrawn out of gun-shot. It was believed by Colonel Flandrau, as well as by many others of good judgment, that the Winnebagoes would join the Sioux in the attack next day; for all the reports with regard to those Indians reaching New Ulm during that week, and they were many, fully warranted such belief.

Just before sundown, Colonel Flandrau made a personal inspection of the defenses, and, so far as safe, a reconnaissance outside of them. He had had three narrow escapes that day.

First, while rallying the broken line in the forenoon, he rode into a position within short gunshot of quite a party of Indians in cover. Henry A. Swift, who was near and in cover himself, had just seen the Indians rush there, and hailing the colonel warned him of his danger. He immediately turned back, and, although shot at, seemingly by the whole party, neither himself nor the horse were hit. It was supposed that the Indians were waiting for him to come nearer and onto higher ground, and that his sudden turn disturbed their aim, or they overshot him.

Second, in the afternoon, while leading the sally spoken of, the breech of his gun, just then in front of his body, was struck by a large ball, which glanced off, but the force with which the gun-breech was driven against his body almost disabled him. This shot was fired at close range, and probably at *him*, for he was well known to many of the Indians.

Third, while upon the reconnaissance near sunset, he was very tired, and in order to rest seated himself upon the end of a saw-log, while looking out over the prairie. One of his officers present, who knew the danger of the locality, warned him of it. The colonel sprang to his feet and away, just before several balls struck the log where he had been seated.

A NIGHT OF ANXIETY.

In the evening some citizens got their teams, put their families and some supplies in the wagons, and were about leaving the town by the lower ferry road. Colonel Flandrau heard of it in time, and by his personal influence, joined with that of others whom he called to his aid, he stopped their going, although he

was prepared and intended to use force, if necessary. They put out their teams and returned to the houses. This movement would have been simply suicide for them, and the colonel so convinced the party; but it might also have brought on a fight that would have menaced the town, in an effort to save them. One man tried this, unknown to anyone else, that night, and was found the next day only a little distance outside the lines of defense, on that road, scalped, decapitated, and otherwise horribly mutilated.

The men lay on their arms at the barricade the whole of that Saturday night. Colonel Flandrau, his officers, and some others whom he called upon as aids, did not sleep at all; but spent the night in making rounds of the barricade, keeping about every third man awake, alternating them to give all a chance to rest. About midnight a sound was heard back of the town, where the Indian camp was supposed to be located, like a large body of men marching. The colonel and some of his officers and aids heard it, and believed it to be the Winnebagoes coming to help the Sioux. But by his order this belief was suppressed, and the report was given out that the Indians, in part at least, were marching off.

During the latter part of the night the writer had several private interviews with Col. Flandrau, by his order. The colonel was heavily burdened with the responsibility upon him. Too well he knew, from the history of the preceding week even, what would be the result of Indian success; to the men, old women, and children, the scalping knife and a horrible death; but to the younger women, a fate, in comparison with which death instead was a boon to be prayed for; and upon him, as commandant, was the responsibility for their safety. The means for its discharge were those defenses and about 190 poorly armed men, the remnant of that insufficient few with which he had gone into battle the day before, brave still, but worn, and possibly much disheartened; while the enemy, at first nearly, if not quite, thrice his own number, and better armed, were now in all probability reinforced by half as many more, all presumably eager for battle and its anticipated successes, so prized by the Indian fiend.

In one of these interviews, Colonel Flandrau said: "If those Indians get these women and children and defenseless men, anyone in responsibility here who escapes, cannot live in this community." In his youth he had served his Government at sea, and was thor-

oughly imbued with the ethics of that profession, requiring a commander to go down with his ship in defeat, if duty and honor demand.

What must have been his sensations! Just thirty-four years old; among the leaders of his profession (the law) in the State; one of its three Supreme Judges; independent pecuniarily; in a home, one of the best in the valley of the Minnesota, planned by himself, and built upon a spot, among many offered, of his own choosing; blessed with a lovely, accomplished wife, and a charming little daughter; respected and beloved by his neighbors, in fact by the whole community; how bright the future had seemed to him! What hopes it had presented! But now,—was he, in a few hours probably, to lay these hopes with life itself upon the altar of the present duty, and there sacrifice all, in what he feared would be an unsuccessful effort to aid those of whom most were within a week past to him utter strangers, his only consolation being that his beloved wife and child were in safety?

He spent the hours till daylight, in planning (every preparation possible was already made) how best he might, with the men and material at his command, meet the blow that he felt sure would then come, and which he had little hope of resisting successfully. Yet, in confident voice and manner he expressed an assurance of victory on the morrow.

THE BATTLE CONTINUED ON SUNDAY.

When that morrow, August 24th, had come, and brought no attack at daylight, the favorite time of the Indians for it; and when, a little later, the attack was made by a lessened number of Indians; all felt assured that no Winnebagoes had come to assist the Sioux, but that a very considerable number of the latter had marched off in the night; and none of the defenders were more relieved than the commandant.

It was evident that this Sunday morning attack was made by less than half the number of Indians engaged the day before, and that it was intended simply to hold the defenders within the town, while the Indians picked up everything desirable to them and plundered and burned the outlying buildings, beyond the battle ground of Saturday. The point of attack was shifted to the immediate river front, and toward the upper end of the town.

Within a block or so of the main street, running parallel with the river, the ground fell off suddenly quite a number of feet, into the low bottom that extended to the river. Along the top of this bluff, about and above the center of the town, stood some frame buildings which it had not been necessary to burn the day before. From behind these the attack came, and, though comparatively light, it was threatening because so close. Colonel Flandrau ordered these buildings to be fired, which was done with comparative safety because the Indians, in order to avoid exposing themselves to the shots of the defenders, were compelled to fire from behind the outside corners of these buildings.

One Indian, who was incautious in that respect, was shot, and fell forward in full view at the end of the building, and his comrades dared not attempt to get him away, a thing usually done by them, it is said. This Indian was only wounded, but could not rise to his feet. As the building burned and the heat of it reached him, he used all his strength to get away, but could only roll himself first away from it and then back toward it. Several of the men, who witnessed this wounded Indian thus burning to death, forgot all enmity, and would, in sympathy for his evident sufferings, have rushed out to relieve him by carrying him away from the burning building; but they were forbidden because of the great danger to them, in so doing, from the fire of the Indians beyond the buildings.

During this attack, an order was recived from Colonel Flandrau to burn an occupied building, a large hotel, in that part of the town, as the Indians were pressing very hard upon it, and its possession by them would be disastrous to the defense. All persons were ordered out of it, and preparations were made, with straw and oil, to fire it. But the officer in charge of the work personally went into the rooms above the street floor to see that no person asleep was being left in them, before starting the fire. In one he found a child, probably about two years old, asleep, which had been forgotten. This child had been cut about the head by the Indians with a tomahawk, when they had attacked and killed several of its relatives at their home in the country, in the previous week. Wrapping the child in a blanket, and carrying it, he started down the stairs, and was met by an aged female relative of the child, shrieking that it had been forgotten. The delay thus caused saved the hotel, for an order just then came

not to burn it, as the necessity therefor had passed. In this attack, one defender was killed, and perhaps one or two wounded. Very soon the Indians had secured their plunder and started off, all disappearing to the west and northwest, back of the town.

ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS.

Some little time later, the head of a column of men came into view where the road from the lower ferry rises out of the low land to the plateau upon which the town is built. This same thing, the day before, then a ruse of the Indians, had cost the life of Captain Dodd; and another ruse was suspected in this case. Colonel Flandrau ordered one of his officers to ride out and reconnoiter, who did so, and discovered and reported that it was a body of over a hundred armed white men. A part were volunteers from Nicollet, Sibley, and Le Sueur counties, under Captain E. St. Julien Cox, of St. Peter, sent the day before by Colonel Sibley to report to Colonel Flandrau; and the rest, Lieutenant Huey's remnant.

Then men who had borne up under the severe strain of the past thirty-six hours broke down with joy, at the thought that their trials were at last ended; and Captain Cox and Lieutenant Huey, with their men, were welcomed heartily.

James Cleary, then of Le Sueur county, now of St. Paul, was a lieutenant of Captain Cox's company, and has since informed the writer that about half the company, being without private arms, had been furnished by Colonel Sibley with Austrian or Belgian muskets, the best in his power to supply, but which were practically worthless; that the company had started from St. Peter the day before, Saturday, the 23rd, and had camped for the night at Nicollet, about fourteen miles from New Ulm; had marched early Sunday morning to the Redstone ferry; had found the ferry boat luckily on the Nicollet county side, but unfortunately a long distance below the road by which alone wagons could approach the ferry; had necessarily consumed much time in getting the boat up the river to the ferry and ready for operation; and that the crossing was made successfully and without opposition from any source.

When the night of Saturday had come, and the battle for that day was over, the Indians had command of the upper and

lower ferries across the Minnesota river, the only means by which a relieving force from St. Peter, where alone such force was gathering, could reach New Ulm within less than two days. Captain Cox camped at Nicollet, about fourteen miles off, on that night. The Indians, by their scouts, knew, most probably, all the movements of any considerable force of the whites, and the exact position of that force at that time. They knew, also, that by destroying the ferry boats at these ferries any time that Saturday night, they would make it impossible for Captain Cox to cross at either; and that, for the whole of Sunday, and possibly part of Monday, they could, in that case, continue their attack upon New Ulm without interruption from him, or from any other possible relief party.

Yet they did not destroy the ferry boats. They only cut loose the Redstone or lower ferry boat, which floated down the river a long distance below the ferry road; for they well knew, as events proved, that, should Capt. Cox use that ferry, this would cause enough delay in his crossing to give them sufficient time to make the attack on Sunday morning, thereby keeping the defenders within the town until they (the Indians) could collect their plunder and get away, which they did, before the arrival of Captain Cox. And this was probably done by less than half their number. Had Captain Cox attempted to use the upper ferry, at the time he did use the lower one, the Indians would have known it when he was miles away, and could have easily done the same thing there.

The repulse of the Indians by Colonel Flandrau, on Saturday, had been so complete and decisive that they evidently determined to make no further efforts then to advance into the settlements, and more than half their force marched away about twelve o'clock on Saturday night, leaving the remainder to execute the work just stated. The Indians never afterwards appeared in force as far east as New Ulm.

CARE OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED.

During the time spent at New Ulm, nothing gave Colonel Flandrau more relief than his medical staff. His confidence in their ability was unlimited; and their excellent care and treatment

of the sick and wounded, whose sufferings worried him greatly, evidenced their high personal and professional character, and were his greatest comfort.

The writer thinks this medical staff was composed of Dr. Carl Weschcke, then in practice at New Ulm, and now and for many years last past its mayor; Dr. Asa W. Daniels, of St. Peter; Dr. Mahon (or McMahon), of Mankato; and Drs. Mayo and Otis Ayer, of Le Sueur. If there were other members of it, the writer has forgotten them.

EVACUATION OF NEW ULM.

Upon consultation with his forces and with the people of the town, during the afternoon and evening of Sunday, it was determined by Colonel Flandrau that, because of threatened sickness and growing scarcity of provisions, the town should be evacuated the next day, Monday; the citizens and refugees to march in a column, protected by the armed men, to Mankato, situated on the same side of the Minnesota river. Notice was given and preparation made, the best for the sick and wounded, many of both these classes being found among the refugees. Because of the scarcity of transportation, Colonel Flandrau, much to his regret, was compelled to limit the amount a man possessing the means of it should take of his own goods, the space being needed for those who were without. Some complained of this at first, but the order was necessary, imperative, and not varied from. Upon second thought such owners of the means of transportation admitted the justness, and certainly the mercy, of this order.

Early on Monday, August 25th, the barricades are broken, and soon the saddest caravan ever seen in Minnesota—over 1,500 people, many sick, about eighty wounded, besides the armed men who guard it on flank and rear—is moving towards the southeast. Many have left or lost all, except the little carried with them; even their nearest and dearest ones, butchered by the Indians, lie buried, without coffin, book, or bell, where they died, with naught to mark the spot; some are mourning and fearing a worse fate for their friends, captured by the savages; and all such are going where? God knows,—anywhere away from Indians!

Colonel Flandrau guarded that column about sixteen miles,

then hurried it, with part of the guard, on to Mankato, about fourteen miles farther; and he, with the remainder of the troops, camped through Monday night at Crisp's farm, to guard the rear. In the work before cited, Vol. 1, page 733, he wrote of this exodus, as follows:

> On Monday, the 25th, provisions and ammunition becoming scarce, and pestilence being feared from stench and exposure, we decided to evacuate the town and try to reach Mankato. This destination was chosen to avoid crossing the Minnesota river, which we deemed impracticable, the only obstacle between us and Mankato being the Big Cottonwood river, and that was fordable. We made up a train of one-hundred and fifty-three wagons, loaded them with women, children and about eighty wounded men, and started. A more heart-rending procession was never witnessed in America. The disposition of the guard was confided to Captain Cox. The march was successful; no Indians were encountered. We reached Crisp's farm toward evening, which was about half-way between New Ulm and Mankato. I pushed the main column on, fearing danger from various sources, but camped at this point with about one hundred and fifty men, intending to return to New Ulm, or hold this point as a defensive measure for the exposed settlements.

While we were in camp at Crisp's farm Monday night, a woman, with a child, about two years old, came from outside the guard-line, and approaching one of the sentries discovered herself just in time to prevent her being shot by him. A bullet, fired by an Indian on the preceding Monday, the first day of the outbreak, had passed through the muscles of her back, but without injury to the spine, and had struck her child's hand, at that moment over its mother's shoulder. This had occurred west of New Ulm, where the bodies were buried by the Tousley expedition on Friday, the 22nd, and many miles distant from Crisp's farm. She had subsisted on berries, roots, and grain, during the week, carrying her child most of the time. The Indians had chased her several times, and even put dogs upon her track, to elude which she had laid herself down on her back in the water in streams and sloughs, holding her child above her; and she expressed her belief that the wound in her back, which she could not reach to dress, had been, during that hot weather, greatly benefited thereby. Her principal effort on such occasions was to hush the crying of her child (in which she always succeeded), so as not to attract her pursuers. The poor little thing made up

for its lost privileges in that way, after it was safe in camp that Monday night.

Both mother and child were taken on to St. Peter, and were placed in an improvised hospital there, where they were found by the husband and father, who had been working for some weeks at a point on the Mississippi river. Both mother and child recovered. How that husband and father must have loved the Sioux Indians afterwards!

Neither Indians, nor signs of them, were apparent that night, though ample watch was kept for them.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 26th of August, Colonel Flandrau, having placed all the refugees in safety from the Indians, decided to return to New Ulm, for the purpose of still holding at as an advance-post of defense to the settlements east and southeast of it, and made a strenuous effort to that end. As to this and its result, the writer again quotes Judge Flandrau, from the same work, Vol. 1, page 733:

> On the morning of the 26th we broke camp, and I endeavored to make the command return to New Ulm or remain where they were; my object, of course, being to keep a force between the Indians and the settlements. The men had not heard a word from their families for more than a week, and declined to return or remain. I did not blame them. They had demonstrated their willingness to fight when necessary, but held the protection of their families as paramount to mere military possibilities. I would not do justice to history did I not record that when I called for volunteers to return, Captain Cox and his whole squad of forty or fifty men stepped to the front, ready to go where commanded. Although I had not heard of Captain Marsh's disaster, I declined to allow so small a command to attempt the reoccupation of New Ulm. My staff stood by me in this effort, and a gentleman from Le Sueur county (Mr. Freeman Talbott) made an eloquent and impressive speech to the men to induce them to return.

The most of those offering to return had but recently left their homes, and had not been in any of the battles at New Ulm.

Later on Tuesday, August 26th, in his march from Crisp's farm, Colonel Flandrau reached Mankato, and there disbanded his original force, allowing the men to go to their homes, or with their families. They had done the fighting which had saved the refugees and placed them in safety, and deserved such release from further duty. Captain Cox, with his command, was ordered to report to Colonel Sibley at St. Peter.

COMPARISON OF THE BATTLES OF THIS INDIAN WAR.

The writer believes it due to Judge Flandrau's memory, in estimating his services in defense of New Ulm, that a fair comparison should be made between the battle of August 23rd and 24th at New Ulm and the other battles with the Indians during that season, on that part of the frontier.

In this two-days' battle at New Ulm, the defenders fought, of course, for their own lives, for even surrender to the foe surrounding them would bring certain death, preceded by terrible torture. The resident defenders had the additional incentive of saving their families or relatives. But the writer believes, and then believed, that the large number of women, children, and defenseless old men, to be saved from the merciless savage, greatly incited all the defenders to think first, last, and always, only of resistance; and it will be difficult, if possible, to find in the Indian wars of this country a case where whites, so situated, fought more determinedly and persistently.

From the facts herein shown, it is fairly inferable that the attacking force of Indians in that New Ulm fight numbered at least 650, and probably even 1,000 or more. It was known that these Sioux had thirty or more good army rifles, with ample supply of ammunition proper therefor, and some good private arms; and that each of them possessed a heavy double-barreled shotgun, number ten or twelve bore, with very strongly reinforced barrel toward the breech, so as to shoot balls, with dangerous accuracy and great force, at least three hundred yards. The Government had provided these shotguns for the Indians, some years before, to enable them to shoot and kill large game, including buffalo. These guns could be used also, at a somewhat shorter range, for shooting smaller balls that would chamber in them three at a time, with great force and effect. Some instances were reliably reported that men were hit, at long range, with these guns using a single ball, which passed entirely through the body. Even the walls of the frame houses, used by the defenders during the battle of Saturday and Sunday, were not a sufficient protection against these Indian guns; and hence, on each side of the openings from which the defenders fired, bed-mattresses and the like were necessary and used to complete the partial defense made by the walls. The Indians were

seen to load these guns running at full speed. While Indian agent, Colonel Flandrau had purchased one of these very guns, and he used it in the fight at New Ulm. In all their fights that year, the Indians seemed to have an ample supply of ammunition, taken probably from the agency stores and other sources.

The muster rolls of different companies at New Ulm, which rolls were made or perfected, as now of record, long afterward, show a large number of men there during the week of the trouble. Captain E. C. Saunders, and Captain William Dellaughter, both of Le Sueur, and Captain William Bierbauer, of Mankato, each brought a body of fairly-armed men there, and were personally in the battle of Saturday and Sunday, August 23rd and 24th. But many of the men in some of the armed organizations at New Ulm were constrained to return to their own localities to defend their homes. Reports came to them, during the week, of threatened trouble in other places by the Sioux and Winnebagoes, with urgent messages for such return. The writer, as adjutant, took part with Colonel Flandrau, at his request, in urging the position taken by him, that to defend New Ulm was to defend these homes in its rear. But all had to admit that, if the Winnebagoes should "break out" around their own reservation, and not come to aid the Sioux at New Ulm, and if other bands of Sioux were to attack in other places, in its rear, such homes would be in great danger, and would need for their defense all the men belonging there; and Colonel Flandrau, admitting the necessity, gave permission for yielding to it. Hence it was the highest prudence for every man who, having come to New Ulm during that week, left it and returned home for such purpose, to act as he did. But this very necessity, acted upon, greatly depleted the force defending New Ulm, by noon on Friday, August 22nd.

It has been before stated that the number of defenders actually going into the battle of Saturday, August 23rd, was about 250. The writer desires to make some quotation from official reports of the time, as to the correctness of this statement. On August 22nd, at 3 p. m., Colonel Flandrau sent by a special messenger a written communication to "Ex-Governor Sibley," expected to reach him on his march from Belle Plaine to St. Peter, in which he wrote: "I have about 200 men here, but very poorly armed;" and again, "I have large expeditions out all day, which

weakens me" (Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, pages 197 and 198). The Tousley expedition was, at that hour, several miles west of New Ulm.

On August 27th, from St. Peter, Colonel Flandrau made his report, to Governor Ramsey, of the battle of Saturday and Sunday. In this report he wrote: "I detailed 75 men with him [Lieutenant Huey], and they crossed at the ferry opposite the town about 9 o'clock a. m." As before shown, this force could not return to New Ulm until the next day (Sunday), after the Indians had retreated, and they took no part in the battle on the New Ulm side of the river. In the same report, Colonel Flandrau further wrote: "At nearly 10 a. m. the body [of Indians in rear of the town] began to move toward us. . . . . We had in all about 250 guns." (Same work, Vol. 2, page 204.)

The loss among the 250 defenders at New Ulm was 10 killed and 51 wounded, the most of which loss was suffered on Saturday, the first day of the battle. As before stated, the non-combatants, women, children, and old men, were about 1,500.

The defenders at Fort Ridgely on Friday, August 22nd, the day of the greatest fight there, numbered 180 men, in part well armed troops, infantry and skilled artillery; the remainder, footmen, recruits, and citizens, were fairly armed. The non-combatants to be defended were about 300. (See the narrative of Gen. L. F. Hubbard [written in 1892], in the same work, Vol. 2, page 182.) The number of the attacking force of Indians is not given or estimated in the reports of Lieut. T. J. Sheehan, Fifth Minnesota Infantry, who commanded, and Ordnance Sergeant J. Jones, U. S. Army, who had charge of the artillery; both reports were made August 26th, 1862. But the former, in his report, wrote: "This post was assaulted by a large force of Sioux Indians on the 20th instant;" and again: "On the 22nd they returned with a much larger force and attacked us on all sides." And the latter, in his report, wrote: "On the 22nd of August, 1862, a still more determined attack was made about 2:30 p.m. by a very large force of Indians." The defenders' loss was three killed and thirteen wounded. (See the same work, Vol. 2, pages 171-173.) But in the narrative of General Hubbard (on page 186), the attacking force is estimated at 1,200

to 1,500. In a note to this narrative (on page 173), it is stated that "the events . . . connected with . . . the defense of Fort Ridgely are related by Lieutenant T. P. Gere of Company B," Fifth Minnesota Infantry, who was present in that fight.

It would seem that the attacking force at Fort Ridgely, less their killed and wounded, were, in all probability, in the attack at New Ulm the next morning, as indicated by Louis Robert's statement before given. But the Indians seen by Robert marching down the valley of the Minnesota river (Fort Ridgely was about sixteen miles above and northwest of New Ulm) could not have been the same Indians that were doing the burning on the upland road from Fort Ridgely to Lafayette, as seen from New Ulm early Saturday morning. The Indians whom Robert saw would cross the Minnesota river back of the position from which they appeared at the rear of the town; and the Indians doing the burning were in all probability the body that attacked Huey.

In the fight by Captain Marsh at the Redwood Agency ferry on Monday, August 18th, the whites numbered fifty-five, trained and well-armed soldiers. The attacking force of Indians was about 425. There were no non-combatants. Of the whites twenty-four were killed, including the commanding officer, and five wounded. (See the same work, Vol. 2, pages 167-171; report of sergeant, afterwards first lieutenant, John F. Bishop, who succeeded to the command and brought it off the field.)

At Birch Coulie on Tuesday, September 2nd, the attacking force of Indians was about 400; the defenders only about 150. During Tuesday night the Indians were reinforced by about 500; but the determined resistance of the day before, and the approach of relieving parties, prevented any serious attack after such reinforcement. There were no non-combatants. The whites lost twenty-three killed and forty-five wounded. (See the report of Captain Hiram P. Grant, who commanded in that battle, and the statement of James J. Egan, a participant; in Vol. 2, pages 215-223.)

At Wood Lake, September 23rd, the attacking party of Indians was "nearly 500," as stated in Colonel Sibley's report of September 27th (Vol. 2, page 254.) His command numbered at least 1,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and the attack

was made upon the camp early in the morning. There were no non-combatants. The loss of the whites was five killed, and thirty-one wounded. (See the reports of Surgeons Greeley and Wharton, in the same work, Vol. 2, pages 243-4.)

At Redwood Agency ferry, and at Birch Coulie, the whites were surprised, and, though they were well armed and organized, in each case it is a wonder that a single white man escaped. That anyone did escape, and so many in the latter case, redounds to the credit, and warrants the highest praise, of those who commanded and participated; and too much has never been written, nor can ever be, in commendation of the skill and bravery displayed in the defense of Fort Ridgely.

The writer suggests that the foregoing facts clearly show that Colonel Flandrau's successful defense of New Ulm, considering and comparing the numbers engaged, character of arms, kind of organization, number of non-combatants to be defended, duration of the fighting, and sacrifice at which the victory was obtained, at least equaled in importance any of the battles named.

ADVANTAGES GAINED BY THE DEFENSE OF NEW ULM.

Did Judge Flandrau, by his defense of New Ulm, render any *other* service than that of placing those 1,500 or more refugees in safety? It has been already claimed in this article, that by night on Wednesday, August 20th, he had made New Ulm an advance-post of defense for the towns and country in its rear, Mankato, St. Peter, and vicinity. While he held New Ulm, no body of Indians made a raid east and southeast of it; and very few outrages by individual parties, if any, occurred there.

On Tuesday, August 19th, Governor Ramsey heard at St. Paul the news of the outbreak, and "hastened to Mendota, and requested the Hon. H. H. Sibley to take command, with the rank of colonel, of an expedition to move up the Minnesota Valley. He at once accepted." (See Heard's "History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863," page 117. The author was on Colonel Sibley's staff, and wrote in 1863.) This shows that the scene of Judge Flandrau's labors was the place to be defended first, and most vigorously; and that on the same day that Judge Flandrau, at Traverse, very early in the morning,

heard of the outbreak, Governor Ramsey heard of it in St. Paul, seventy-five miles farther from the scene of action.

On the evening of Thursday, August 21st, Colonel Sibley was at Belle Plaine, fifty-seven miles from St. Paul, with 225 men, having used a steamer to Shakopee, over half the way. (See "Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars," Vol. 2, pages 193-5.) The next day he dated a report to Governor Ramsey, "Headquarters Indian Expedition, St. Peter," and had three companies with him (page 196). Heard, on page 118 of his History, wrote:

> On Sunday this force was increased.....which swelled Sibley's command to some 1,400 men..... The mounted men [about 300] had no experience in war and were only partially armed, and that only with pistols and sabers, about whose use they knew nothing. A portion of the guns of the infantry were worthless, and for the good guns there were no cartridges that would fit. The foe was experienced in war, well armed, confident of victory, and wrought up to desperation by the necessity of success.

On Tuesday, August 26th, Colonel Sibley reported to Governor Ramsey from St. Peter that he should move that morning ("Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars," Vol. 2, page 199). He did so, and camped that night six miles from St. Peter on the upper road to Fort Ridgely, where Colonel Flandrau and the writer saw him. Some refugees from New Ulm, marching from there with Colonel Flandrau, had reached St. Peter, by way of Mankato, before Colonel Sibley moved at all.

It must be presumed that Colonel Sibley did move the moment he was ready; that he had done all he could; and that during his stay at St. Peter he was awaiting reinforcements and supplies of food and ammunition from St. Paul, until Monday evening, August 25th, or the next morning. On Saturday, August 23rd, he had sent forward the expedition commanded by Captain Cox, but it was composed of volunteers from Sibley, Le Sueur and Nicollet counties. The State authorities had been doing all in their power to help Colonel Sibley, with the result stated, that he was six miles west of St. Peter towards Fort Ridgely, still thirty-nine miles distant, on Tuesday night, August 26th.

Even as late as Monday, August 25th, was Colonel Sibley, while thus insufficiently supplied with ammunition, in condition

to resist successfully an attack by a large body of Indians? Would he not, if assailed, have been compelled to fall back, down the Minnesota valley, towards his coming ammunition supply, the possession of which was absolutely necessary to render his force effective for any purpose whatever, even its own defense?

Then, did Judge Flandrau's maintenance of that advance-post of New Ulm, from Tuesday, August 19th, until Monday, the 25th, together with his repulse of the Indians on Saturday and Sunday, the 23rd and 24th, aid the State authorities in placing Colonel Sibley's expedition where it camped on Tuesday night, August 26th?

Suppose that Judge Flandrau had not done so, but had failed, and that New Ulm had fallen in the week preceding or on Sunday morning, the 24th, placing those 1,500 refugees, mostly women and children, cut off from flight eastward by the Minnesota river, at the mercy of those Indians. Imagine the scene of blood and rapine, and then its effect. The whole community eastward, from town, hamlet, and farm, would have been rushing by every means obtainable, uncontrollably, down the Minnesota valley for safety; and the simple word, "Indians," could have been used to conjure fright with even on the streets of St. Paul.

Sometime—it should be soon—Minnesota, in gratitude and for the admiration and instruction of future generations, will cast in bronze, or carve in stone, the form and features of Charles E. Flandrau; but no art, however high, can make the hard material of commemoration fully show the firm will, the bright mind, the loving heart, the genial smile, and the winning manner, which have made him so respected and beloved through life, and now so mourned in death.

JUDGE FLANDRAU AS A CITIZEN AND JURIST.

BY WILLIAM H. LIGHTNER.

Charles Eugene Flandrau, who died in the City of St. Paul on September 9th, 1903, would have completed in November of this year a residence of fifty years in Minnesota. At all times during his long citizenship in our state he took an active and leading part in public affairs and his complete biography will be a history of our state. His lifelong friends, Judge Greenleaf Clark and Major Salmon A. Buell, have reviewed before you his early career, and his great services to his adopted state, in laying the foundations of our civil government, and in his participation in the Indian war which threatened the prosperity of the state and caused so great a loss of life and property. A brief review of the career of Judge Flandrau, particularly as lawyer and judge, may supplement what has already been presented to you.

The son of a lawyer, who was a graduate of Hamilton College, and a gentleman of culture and many acquirements, and who practiced many years with Aaron Burr, Judge Flandrau had advantages in early life which were unusual in the early history of our country. These advantages were of great benefit, and, although he lacked a thorough school training when he came to Minnesota in 1853, he was not merely trained sufficiently as a lawyer to successfully undertake the practice of his profession in a western state, but he had acquired much of the literary taste, culture, and refinement, which adorned his life.

In 1853 he began the practice of his profession in St. Paul in partnership with the late Horace R. Bigelow, with whom he had left the State of New York to begin his life career. He shortly afterwards, in the winter of 1853 and 1854, went to what

is now St. Peter, and resided in that locality till April, 1857, when he was appointed by President Buchanan associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Minnesota. In the following year, upon the admission of the State, he was elected one of the justices of the Supreme Court, which position he continued to occupy until July 5, 1864, when he resigned his office. This completed his judicial experience. After a brief residence in Carson and Virginia City, Nevada, where he and Judge Atwater, his former associate on the bench of the Supreme Court, engaged in the practice of law, and a brief residence in St. Louis, he returned to this state, and, with Judge Atwater, began the practice of law in Minneapolis. In 1870, he removed to St. Paul, and there resided until his death. During his entire residence in St. Paul he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession, being successively a member of the firms of Bigelow, Flandrau, and Clark; Bigelow, Flandrau, and Squires; and Flandrau, Squires, and Cutcheon.

His practice was extensive and lucrative. He and his firms were for many years leaders at the bar in this state. An examination of the reported cases in this state will show that a very large proportion of the important litigation was entrusted to their care and was successfully conducted.

Judge Flandrau was pre-eminently a good citizen. Thoroughly conversant with the duties of citizenship, he shirked none of them. Never a seeker of public office, his services were in frequent demand, and he was repeatedly called upon to fill official positions. These, whether high or low, he filled well, serving his constituents with ability and diligence.

In 1854 he was deputy clerk of the district court for Nicollet county, and later attorney for the same county. In 1856 he was appointed agent for the Sioux Indians. In the same year he was chosen for a term of two years a member of the Territorial Council, the upper house of the Territorial Legislature. In 1857 he served as a member of the "Democratic branch" of the Constitutional Convention, which, in conjunction with the "Republican branch," framed our present State Constitution. As already stated, from 1857 to 1864, he was associate justice of our Supreme Court. In 1867 he was elected city attorney of Minneapolis, and in 1868 was chosen first president of the Board of Trade of that city.

In politics, Judge Flandrau was a Democrat, and to his party he was a conscientious and lifelong adherent. When the preponderance of the Republican party in this state was so great that the election of its candidates by large majorities was assured, Judge Flandrau did not hesitate, upon the demands of his party, to stand as their candidate, in 1867, for governor, and in 1869 for chief justice of the Supreme Court. Nor did Judge Flandrau hesitate, when he believed that his party had in any manner departed from what he believed to be an honest political principle, to openly oppose its candidates, as he did in the presidential election of 1896.

In 1899, towards the close of a long life, when abundantly entitled to rest and freedom from the care of public business, Judge Flandrau responded to the demands of his fellow citizens and became a member of the Charter Commission which framed the present charter of the city of St. Paul. Of this commission he was chairman till his death. This position, the duties of which were arduous, could add little to his reputation or standing in the community, and the acceptance thereof must have been prompted by that nice sense of the duties of citizenship which characterized Judge Flandrau throughout his life.

In all matters that related to the well-being, prosperity, and improvement of his fellow citizens, Judge Flandrau was ever active. Identified with all those larger commercial, social, educational, and charitable institutions which make for the best interest of mankind, yet he seemed to take a greater pleasure or interest in individual improvement and particularly in those persons having limited advantages. To such he was ever ready to lend his aid and encouragement.

While his many personal friends and contemporaries will long cherish recollections of the many fine traits in the character of Judge Flandrau, still his most enduring fame will doubtless rest upon his work while justice of our Supreme Court. Appointed to this court at the age of twenty-nine, he entered upon the discharge of his duties with ardor and much devotion to his work. His seven years upon the bench doubtless covered the most important period in the development of our jurisprudence, being the formative period of a new state.

Under our system of government, in which each state is, with certain limitations, a sovereign state having exclusive con-

trol of its domestic institutions and policies, the first few years of statehood are of controlling importance. Each new state takes its place among its sister states with equal rights, but without experience. Its laws are to be framed; its policies and principles of government are to be adopted; and, perhaps more important than all else, its courts are called upon to establish and lay down the principles of common law which are to be supreme within the new state. It is true that each new state adopts in its general principles the common law as it prevails generally in the United States and England, but the common law as applied in different jurisdictions varies greatly. Errors in adopting and applying the common law in any new state lead to much injustice, much uncertainty in the decisions of the courts, and occasion much unnecessary litigation and legislation. No greater benefit can be conferred upon a new state than to give it a Supreme Court which during its early history adopts and lays down correctly the rules of the common law, selecting, where these rules conflict, those which experience has shown to be sound and those which are best suited to the people of the state. The power and duty thus resting upon the Supreme Court in a new state is well understood by judges and lawyers, though perhaps imperfectly appreciated by the average citizen.

Judge Flandrau and his two associates, Judges Emmett and Atwater, upon the bench of our Supreme Court performed their duty well, and our state is greatly indebted to them for the valuable services rendered. It is no disparagement to his two associates to say that the greater part of this work was performed by Judge Flandrau. The decisions of our state Supreme Court during the six years when he was a member thereof are reported in volumes two to nine of the Minnesota reports. These reported decisions numbered 495, and of these Judge Flandrau wrote the opinions in 227 cases, or nearly half of all the cases reported while he was on the bench. These opinions evince much care and research. The history of the law is carefully examined and stated. The precedents and authorities in other jurisdictions are ably analyzed. Technicalities were abhorrent to Judge Flandrau, who brushed them aside where inconsistent with justice. The opinions are models of good English and, we think, show a greater degree of care in their preparation than is found in his later

writings. The sentences are terse, the facts and the principles of law are plainly and simply stated without repetition and not at unnecessary length. It is superfluous to say that Judge Flandrau was a fearless and upright judge. He was by nature a gentleman, and his fearlessness and uprightness were innate and needed no training or education for their full development. His opinions reflect his character.

Perhaps the most important, certainly the most notable, of Judge Flandrau's opinions, was his dissenting opinion in the case of *Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company vs. H. H. Sibley, Governor* (2 Minn., 1). If his opinion had prevailed instead of that of the two other judges, the state might have been spared the discredit of the repudiation of the Railroad Aid bonds. The case in brief was as follows:

By an amendment to the State Constitution adopted April 15th, 1858, provision was made for the issue of bonds of the state, in an amount not exceeding $5,000,000, to several railroad companies to aid in the construction of their roads. It was provided that, before the bonds were issued, the railroad companies should give to the state certain securities, including "an amount of first mortgage bonds on the roads, lands and franchises of the respective companies corresponding to the State bonds issued." The Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company, claiming to have complied with the amendment of the Constitution, demanded of Governor Sibley that he issue to it certain State bonds. He refused to do so for the reason that the bonds of the railroad company tendered as security were not such "first mortgage bonds" as the Constitution contemplated. Thereupon the company applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus requiring the governor to issue the State bonds, and the writ was issued, two of the judges holding with the railroad company, and Judge Flandrau dissenting and sustaining the position taken by Governor Sibley. When the amendment to the Constitution was adopted, the railroad company had not issued any "first mortgage bonds." Subsequently it made a first mortgage upon its property to secure an issue of $23,000,000 of bonds, and the bonds which it tendered to the State were a small part of this issue. The State contended that it was entitled to first mortgage bonds which should be a prior lien upon the railroad superior to that of

all other bonds, and Judge Flandrau forcibly demonstrated the soundness of this position.

At this date it seems clear that Judge Flandrau was correct, and that, at this time, the decision of the court would be contrary to the majority opinion. It is certainly a very inadequate protection to the State to provide that its debtor shall give it first mortgage bonds, and then leave it to the debtor to determine how large the total issue shall be of which such first mortgage bonds are to be part. It is possible that if Judge Flandrau's views had been followed, the State bonds might not have been issued, or, if issued, they might have been adequately secured, in either of which events the credit of the State would doubtless have remained unimpaired.

It is interesting to note further, in reference to this case, that the Supreme Court ought not to have taken cognizance of the case at all, for the reason, as has since been repeatedly held in the same court, that the judiciary has no power to control the acts of the chief executive of the State in a case of this kind.

That Judge Flandrau appreciated the opportunities and duties of the court as to settling the common law, is shown by the following statement contained in his opinion in the case of *Selby vs. Stanley* (4 Minn., 34).

> In a new state like our own, we enjoy the advantage of all the light which has been thrown upon questions, without being tied down by precedents which are admitted to be founded in error; and, therefore, we are free to select, as the basis of our decisions, whatever may appear to be founded on principle and reason, rejecting what is spurious and unsound, even if dignified by age and the forced recognition of more learned and able judges.

In *State vs. Bilansky* (3 Minn., 169), the defendant was convicted of the murder of her husband and sought to escape punishment by pleading the ancient common-law privilege of clergy. The opinion by Judge Flandrau is particularly interesting by reason of his learned account of the origin and purpose of this ancient privilege. The opinion held that the defendant was not entitled to the privilege, and she paid the penalty of the law.

In another murder case, *Bonfanti vs. State* (2 Minn., 99), Judge Flandrau, speaking of a statute which authorized the com-

mitment to an insane asylum of one acquitted of crime on the ground of insanity if manifestly dangerous, says that "the statute very sensibly declares that when a jury is called upon to acquit a prisoner of a crime on the ground that he was insane, they shall not acquit him of the one without convicting him of the other." Unfortunately many juries and courts fail to follow Judge Flandrau's opinion and to see to it that one so acquitted should be put in an insane asylum.

In *True vs. True,* (6 Minn., 315), which was an action for divorce, we find the importance and sanctity of the marriage relation upheld by Judge Flandrau in the following eloquent and forceful language:

> The contract of marriage differs from all other contracts, in being indissoluble by the action of the parties to it, and of perpetually binding obligation until discharged by a competent court. It is the most important of the social relations. It is sanctioned by Divine authority, and recognized by all Christian nations as the palladium of virtue, morality, social order, and the permanent happiness of the human race. To its auspicious influence may be traced the great advances made in civilization, through the elevation of woman to social equality, the education of children, the refinement of manners, the improved sense of justice, the enlightened cultivation of the arts, and the physical development of man; and, above all, is it valuable as awakening in the human heart those chaste and exalted conceptions of virtue, which, in spiritualizing the mind, and subduing the grosser passions of men, give moral character and grandeur to the state. It is the only lawful relation for the continuance of the species, and the perpetuity of the choicest benefits permitted by Providence to the enjoyment of man, and as such should engage the most profound solicitude of the legislator and the courts, to preserve it unsullied in its purity, and transmit it to posterity with its integrity unimpaired.

It were well if our divorce courts paid more attention to this noble and just statement of the law as to marriage.

It is impossible to quote at length from the many able opinions delivered by Judge Flandrau, but it may be proper to notice a few of interest to the legal profession. In *Gates vs. Smith* (2 Minn., 21) is an able exposition of the method of pleading as provided by the Code, then quite new, as a substitute for the common-law methods. In *Grimes vs. Bryne,* (2 Minn., 72) we find an exhaustive investigation into the power of the

legislature under the Constitution of the United States, to exempt a fair and limited amount of property from seizure under execution for debts created prior to the exemption. In *McComb vs. Thompson* (2 Minn., 114) is laid down the salutary rule which has ever since prevailed in this state, that a party signing a note upon the back at its inception, is to be treated as a maker. In *Steele vs. Fish* (2 Minn, 129), is found probably the first decision under our statute relating to actions to determine adverse claims, and which did much to simplify and make effective the purpose of this valuable statute in quieting the title to real estate.

In *Selby vs. Stanley* (4 Minn., 34), limiting vendor's liens, and *Gardner vs. McClure* (6 Minn., 167), repudiating common-law mortgages by deposit of the title deeds, we find exhaustive and able opinions relieving this state of unsound and dangerous principles which had prevailed in many common-law jurisdictions.

That Judge Flandrau never favored harsh or unequal taxation is shown by his opinions in *McComb vs. Bell* (2 Minn., 256), *City of St. Paul vs. Seitz* (3 Minn., 205), *Foster vs. Commissioners* (7 Minn., 84), and *Board vs. Parker* (7 Minn., 207). His hostility to excessive interest is found in *Mason vs. Callender* (2 Minn., 302), where the holder of a note was held not entitled to interest after the maturity of the note as stipulated therein at the rate of five per cent per month.

An important opinion is that of *Regents vs. Hart* (7 Minn., 45), determining the status and rights of the State University and its regents.

Among many other valuable opinions, we may mention *State vs. Batchelder* (5 Minn., 178), relating to the passing of the title of land from the general government; *Heyward vs. Judd* (4 Minn., 375), relating to an attempt by the legislature to violate contract rights by enlarging the period of redemption from foreclosure; *Filley vs. Register* (4 Minn., 296), as to fraudulent conveyances; *Butler vs. Paine* (8 Minn., 284), as to a note payable in "currency;" and *Arnold vs. Wainwright* (6 Minn., 241), on the subject of partnership.

In closing this brief review of Judge Flandrau's opinions, we shall quote from *Roos vs. State* (6 Minn., 291), and *Supervisors vs. Heenan* (2 Minn., 281), his statement as to methods

which prevailed in our territorial legislature and which cast a side-light on our territorial history. In the latter case was involved the constitutional provision requiring the subject of an act to be stated in the title, and the opinion says:

> A knowledge of the character of the legislation which preceded the forming of a state constitution, will show that a very vicious system prevailed of inserting matter in acts, which was entirely foreign to that expressed in the title, and by this means securing the passage of laws which would never have received the sanction of the legislature, had the members known the contents of the act . . . . [The constitutional provision] means to secure to the people fair and intelligible legislation, free from all the tricks and *finesse* which have heretofore disgraced it.

In the former case, relating to change of county lines, Judge Flandrau says:

> During the territorial existence of Minnesota, a very great evil had grown up in the legislation of the country, consequent upon the feverish excitement that prevailed for the creation of towns and cities, and the speculation in lots and lands. It was the constant practice of the legislature to change county lines, and the county seats of counties from one town to another, at the solicitation of interested parties, without a full understanding of the wishes and interests of the people of the counties affected. Instances even occurred where such removals were carried through the legislature without the knowledge of that body, by inserting clauses in bills, surreptitiously, the title of which indicated entirely another purpose.

This society has had frequent occasion of late years to bear testimony to the fine character and notable services of many of its deceased members, who have made so creditable the history of this state. It has not been called upon to record its appreciation of a nobler character than that of Judge Flandrau. His integrity and honesty in purpose and act could never be questioned. Indirection or evasion were foreign to his character and his instincts.

He was intensely human, in the sense that he felt the brotherhood of mankind. Kindly in disposition, he ever sympathized with and aided his less fortunate fellow men. Well do I remember his kindly interest and companionship with the poor and rather turbulent population in the vicinity of his home in St. Paul. With these people he was a friend, and where most men

would have found only disturbing and disagreeable neighbors, he found only devoted friends.

He had, as might have been expected in such a gentleman, a natural and inborn courteous manner. His manners were not the mere result of training and polish, and hence he could never be intentionally unkind or discourteous. This trait in Judge Flandrau's character, added to his legal ability, made him a strong advocate. No lawyer at the bar was a more dangerous opponent before a jury.

His hospitality was unlimited, and his friends were without number. With a charming and brilliant wife, surrounded by his children, his home in St. Paul has for many years been a center in social life. He will long be held in remembrance in the community, and he has left to his sorrowing wife and children the inestimable heritage of a good name and an unsullied character.

ADDRESS.

BY HON. JOSEPH A. ECKSTEIN, CITY ATTORNEY OF NEW ULM.

Mr. President: The City of New Ulm desires to join with you in these fitting eulogies on the life and character of Judge Charles E. Flandrau, so ably pronounced by the speakers of the evening. The Mayor of our city received an invitation for himself, city officers, and citizens, from the secretary of your society, to be present at this memorial meeting. The city council appointed a committee of four of its members to represent that body at these exercises, and they are present with me here tonight. The Mayor, the Hon. Dr. C. Weschcke, made all preparations to come, but found that the state of his health would not permit him to do so. He has, however, commissioned me to represent him, and to say a few words for him on behalf of the city, should occasion present itself.

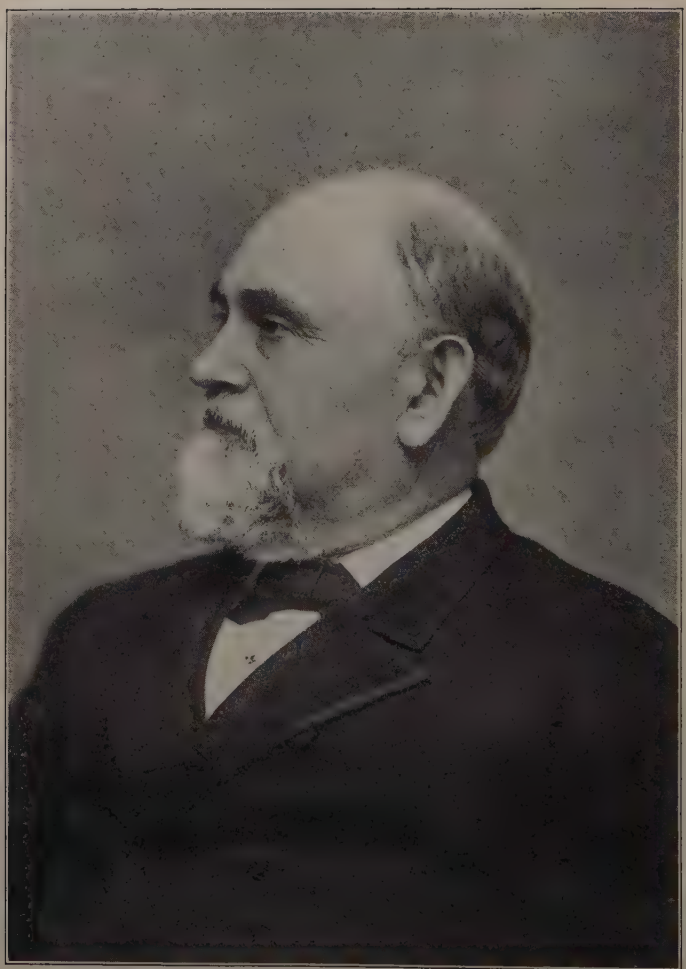
I will ask your indulgence for a few moments, and, as the hour is late, I purpose to be brief in my remarks.

In August, 1862, New Ulm was a mere hamlet on the western frontier of this state; the prairies of southwestern Minnesota were swarming with the bloodthirsty Sioux; and New Ulm was the objective point on which they intended to wreak their vengeance for real or imaginary wrongs suffered at the hands of the whites. At that time most of the young and able-bodied men of New Ulm were at the front in the south fighting for the flag of liberty. Those remaining at home were poorly armed and not fitted to withstand the fierce onslaught of a treacherous and inhuman foe. It was in the nick of time that Judge Flandrau arrived on the scene with his force to relieve the endangered place. I believe that I am correct in making the assertion that, if the Sioux had succeeded in annihilating the little town of New Ulm, our neighbors to the east might have shared the same fate.

New Ulm, now a city of over 6,000 inhabitants, remembers with gratitude the gallant services of Judge Flandrau and his men, rendered in the hour of their greatest need. The lines of the defenders of that place are getting thin, and a large number of the associates of Judge Flandrau, in the defense of New Ulm, have preceded their gallant commander to their last resting place. It will not be many years before the few remaining eye witnesses of that memorable struggle will have passed away. Then, Mr. President, the records of your society will stand as the faithful witness to give true testimony to the future historian of what happened on the frontier of Minnesota in the early days.

Some years ago, the State of Minnesota erected a shaft with a memorial tablet in the City of New Ulm to commemorate the battle there with the Sioux Indians. It is located in a prominent place in the city, near the corner of what we call Schoolhouse Square. On it the name of Charles E. Flandrau stands out in bold relief, as a silent tutor to the youth passing on his way to school, to inspire in him a spirit of gallantry and patriotism should the hour of need and occasion for its exercise ever arrive.

The record of the life and actions of Judge Flandrau is closed, but it stands forth as a shining example of the highest type, safely to be followed by any enterprising youth of this state for generations to come.



John B. Sanborn.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF GENERAL JOHN B. SANBORN, AT THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE STATE CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 10, 1904.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY THE PRESIDENT, HON. GREENLEAF CLARK.

The charter of the Historical Society ordains that one of its objects, among others, shall be "to rescue from oblivion the memory of the early pioneers and to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils and hardy adventures." It is well. The lives of prominent and leading men are so connected with the important events of the past, that they portray in vivid reality the processes by which those events were brought about. An impersonal history could hardly be written, and if it could, it would lack the element which gives it life and vigor and confidence in its truth. The subject remaining for consideration at this session is the life and influence of John Benjamin Sanborn, who died in St. Paul on the 16th day of May, 1904.

General Sanborn was a member of this Society for forty-eight years, a member of its Executive Council for twenty-eight years, an officer of it for thirteen years, and he was its president when he died. His contributions to its literature comprise many articles of historical value, and its treasures have been enriched by his bounty. From the time he became a member of its Executive Council to the day of his death, no man was more constant than he in attendance upon its meetings, or more devoted to its work; and no one engaged more freely in its discussions upon incidents of the past. He had lived in the sphere of human activities, had a retentive memory, and helped to elucidate events around which the gloom of time was settling. His last labors were for this Society. Less than three months before he died, he prepared a paper on "The Work of the Second Legislature of Minnesota, 1859-60," which was read before the Council at its session of March 14, 1904, he, though present, not being able to read it.

The record of our obituaries shows how rapidly the old pioneers, those who came down to us from Territorial and ante-Territorial days, are passing away. We are upon the verge of a new epoch. The peiod of construction is fast giving away to that of conservation. The light of the faces of the old pioneers is fading into shadow, their companionship is passing from a reality to a memory. A few old Romans are left to us, most of whom are peacefully and gracefully bearing the burden of years. To spare them, one by one, will be a reiterated sorrow.

I cannot refrain from saying that no border country was ever ushered into the light of formal and salutary social order by a body of men more judicious, courageous, or possessing higher qualities of manliness and refinement, than are to be found among the leading spirits of the old pioneers of Minnesota. If there be any who think that contact with primeval things dulls the sensibilities or debases the character, to refute such contention, we have only to point to the innate and never failing courtesy, kindliness, hospitality, refinement and gentility of the leading pioneers, both men and women, who ushered into life the State of Minnesota.

John B. Sanborn was a prominent man in the city of his adoption, and in the Territory and State for half a century. I knew him in his native State of New Hampshire, and when I came to St. Paul, a few months after the admission of the State to the Union, I found him, so soon, at the head of one of the leading law firms of the city. From that time to the day of his death his name stood at the head of a prominent firm of lawyers. His professional career was subject to many interruptions, and though other and important work was given him to do, the law was his chosen profession.

I should say that his most prominent and distinguished gift, as a lawyer, was his ability of bringing men who started out with litigious intentions, together, and by his good sense and practical sagacity effecting a settlement, satisfactory to both. There is no more valuable service a lawyer can render a client than this. In matters which involved doubtful legal questions, or where the facts were unsolved, or for any other reason resort to a trial in court became necessary, he demonstrated in public

the same ability to fight, as he exercised in private to conciliate; but the contest was courteous, though it might be strenuous.

Mr. Sanborn acted a prominent part in the framing of the laws of the State. He was a member of the famous legislature of 1859, whose wise and judicious work in planting the new state government on solid ground, and in throwing safeguards around its vital interests, is universally recognized; and, as chairman of the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, he took a leading part in that legislation. He repeatedly afterward served in the House and Senate. When some one was wanted to represent with ability and fidelity the interests of the city and State, his neighbors repeatedly turned to him, and though he was a Republican in politics and lived in a city of Democratic proclivities, I do not remember that he was ever defeated at the polls. By this service he became identified with much of the important legislation of the State.

In civic life there was no one more ready than he to lend a hand. He was never too busy or too tired to take vigorous hold of matters important to the welfare of the community. He did not need urging. He saw the need or danger, and readily and cheerfully co-operated with his neighbors in devising and executing measures to supply the one, or to avert the other. He was always a busy man. I do not think he knew what idleness was. Blessed by nature with a vigorous constitution, he hardly realized the necessity of rest and recuperation, either by himself or others.

When the nation's life was threatened, he laid down the arts of peace and took up the business of war. His first military work was the organization of troops as Adjutant General of the State; his later service was in executing war in the field. He served in the War of the Rebellion as commander of a regiment, a brigade, and a division, under the eye of a superior officer, and in independent command. In a service of four years, he rose from the rank of a colonel of volunteers to that of brigadier general and brevet major general. He always met the demands upon him. In sudden emergencies, whether arising in subordinate or independent command, in the field of battle, or in strategic movements, he was always equal to the occasion; he took without shrinking the responsibility of prompt decision

and decisive action; and what he did never failed to meet the approval of his superiors.

In his social life he was always the courteous gentleman, kind, considerate, composed, free from the perturbations of anger or fear, just, and benevolent almost to a fault

General Sanborn was an all round man. His influence was exerted and felt in many directions. He was prominent in professional, public, civic, and military life, a career that falls to the lot of but few men. It is hardly to be expected that a man whose field of activity is so broad and diversified should be preeminent in any particular line. There is a limit to the human powers. But I should say that the highest and most incontestable claim of General Sanborn for distinction was his ability, bearing and accomplishments as a soldier.

Was it a useful ife? The greatest of the English poets and dramatists, that great analyst of the human mind and character, that great estimator of human values, said, "Every man is worth just so much as the things are worth about which he busies himself;" and it takes but a superficial knowledge of the great poet, who taught by the vivid painting of contrasts as well as by precept, to realize that, in his great mind, the worthiest things for a man to do are those which promote the well being of mankind, and which dignify and ennoble human nature. Try General Sanborn by this high standard. The things about which he busied himself, in a long, busy, influential and eventful life, were important to society, the State, and his country. If he ever condescended to an ignoble act, I know it not. What better title to respect, honor, and commemoration, can any man achieve?

General Sanborn was a man of strong religious conviction. He was always a firm supporter of the Christian Church. Up to the time of his death he not only cheerfully contributed to the support of a prominent church in the city from his means, but gave the management of its temporal affairs the benefit of his busines ability. He was not ostentatious or obtrusive in matters of religion or morals. He taught by example rather than by precept. After he knew that his work was done and that he had but a short time to stay, he said his life had been a happy one, that he had tried to do the best he could, that his

life had already been prolonged beyond the allotted age, and that he was reconciled to the will of God. And when the summons of the great Master came, like a good soldier he answered, "Ready"; and in peace and serenity, and with hope and trust in the mercies of God, he laid down his mortal life and passed to his reward.

In order that the record of the life of such a man may be preserved, with circumstance, event, and elucidation, and that due honor may be done to his memory, I have the honor of presenting to you the Hon. Henry W. Childs, the orator of the occasion, who will address us upon the life and influence of John B. Sanborn.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF GENERAL SANBORN.

BY GEN. HENRY W. CHILDS.

"All history," says Emerson, "resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons." The history of New England is the biography of the "stout and earnest persons" who, in senate chamber and pulpit, on rostrum and battlefield, with pen and sword and voice, have fought for truth and justice. They are her household names. They live in her family trees and upon her tablets. In no other section of our country has there been a more complete blending of public and family history than in New England; nowhere else has there prevailed a truer conception of personal rights, or a greater tenacity for their preservation.

Life was ever serious to the New Englander. A sense of responsibility weighed heavily upon him; duty called to him not in vain; deep earnestness moved him. The poverty of the soil which he tilled, and the rigors of the climate in which he lived, exacted labor and taught the lessons of thrift and economy. Out of the hard conditions of New England life, came forth a race of giants. Big-brained and strong-limbed, they have expounded constitutions, sung immortal songs, occupied the high seats of learning, commanded armies, felled forests, and founded cities.

It is said that between the landing of the Pilgrims and the uprising against Charles I, twenty thousand emigrants came from Old England to New England. All came for conscience' sake. Among them were William Sanborn, for several years selectman of his town and a soldier in King Philip's War, and William Sargent, the former arriving in 1632, the latter in 1638. From these two immigrants flows the American ancestry of our subject. No character appears in either ancestral line which attained conspicuous eminence. "There

seems to be," said General Sanborn, "so far as I am able to learn, nothing striking, except their regular, orderly life, and freedom from all crimes and offenses." Such language implies nothing of discredit and would be equally applicable to the ancestry of many a distinguished American. On the paternal side, a great-grandfather, and, on the maternal side, a grandfather, served in the patriot army in the war of the Revolution, the latter for six years, embracing the historic winter at Valley Forge.

John Benjamin Sanborn was born at Epsom, New Hampshire, December 5th, 1826, on the family homestead which, in his own words, had "descended by primogeniture from generation to generation since 1750." The old homestead, it is worthy of remark, still remains in the possession of the descendants of his father, thus showing an unbroken ownership by the Sanborns from a date almost contemporaneous with the birth of Washington. This fact, most exceptional in American life, is an eloquent tribute to a beautiful family sentiment.

General Sanborn was the youngest of a family of five children born of the wedlock of Frederick Sanborn and Lucy L. Sargent. His early life was spent upon his father's farm, and, until he was well on in his teens, he intended to follow his father's vocation. "It was my purpose," he informs us, "up to the time that I was sixteen years of age, to remain at home and take charge of the homestead in Epsom and care for my parents through their old age; but the failure of the health of my brother, Henry F. Sanborn, during his senior year in college, changed this plan." That the lad was not swift in seeking another vocation or eager to win the bays of scholarship, may justly be inferred; for, although his mother earnestly urged him to his books, he lingered on the farm until he had reached the age of twenty-three. He then determined to prepare for the legal profession, and, accordingly, fitted himself for college at Pembroke Academy, New Hampshire, and Thetford Academy, Vermont, and entered Dartmouth College in the fall of 1851, at the age of twenty-five. Aroused, perhaps, by a consciousness of fleeting years and the importance of an immediate devotion to the study of his chosen profession, he severed his relations with Dartmouth, as a student, at the close of his first term, and, in the following spring, entered the law office of Asa Fowler, Esq.,

at Concord, New Hampshire. His association with Judge Fowler was of good omen. That gentleman then stood high at the bar of his state and was subsequently elevated to a place upon the bench, a mark of great distinction in a state where the judicial office is a testimonial of high professional and personal qualification. Whatever may be said of the advantages of the law school, it can never supply to a brainy young man the intellectual stimulus derived from a course of study pursued in the office of a strong lawyer. He is a daily inspiration to a gifted youth. General Sanborn was no ordinary student, and his instructor was no ordinary lawyer. Two bright, noble minds were for a period of two years, and until separated by the admission of the student to the bar in the month of July, 1854, thus brought into almost daily contact.

Let us pause for a moment to take a mental view of our lamented president when, fifty years ago, he had received from the Superior Court of New Hampshire a certificate of qualification authorizing him to practice before the courts of that state. He is within a few months of twenty-eight years of age. His carriage is erect and noble; his frame, if not stalwart, is yet strongly built and well proportioned. A large and well-formed head is covered with an abundance of dark hair. His face is strong and manly, his voice rich and pleasing, and he meets your gaze with an eye full, dark, keen, and thoughtful. There is unmistakably the happy unison of healthy brain and body, the richest legacies youth can enjoy. There is, indeed, a man, self-poised, firm-footed, "swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath." New England has sent forth more gifted sons, but none truer; none better fitted to fill the breach or face the storm. He bore in the cells of his blood a pledge of loyalty to New England traditions; and in a half century of subsequent life, filled with affairs, he was never faithless to that pledge.

With rare exceptions, it is a trying moment with a young lawyer when he comes to select the field where the professional blade is to be drawn and life's work performed; and our subject was no exception. Almost immediately upon his admission to the bar, he opened an office at Concord, New Hampshire; and a few months later he formed the acquaintance of Theodore French, Esq., of Concord, who had but recently completed a

course of law at Cambridge. Already both young men had been casting glances toward that great, undeveloped domain, rapidly coming into public notice, lying west of the Mississippi. "It was concluded by both of us," he again informs us, "that we ought to leave New England and settle somewhere in the Northwest." Having formed this resolution, it was their good fortune soon to meet Mr. Paul R. George, who had but recently visited St. Paul. His description of the territory of Minnesota was warm and persuasive. St. Paul was, in his opinion, destined to become a great city. The die was then cast; and the twain, late in November, 1854, visited Boston, where a few hundred dollars were invested in law books, whereupon they started on their westward journey, reaching St. Paul in the month of December, 1854.

On the first day of January, 1855, the two young men opened a law office at St. Paul for the practice of their profession. The first public announcement of this new accession to the bar of the Territory appeared in the columns of the Daily Pioneer, under date of January 15th, 1855, in the following notice:

SANBORN & FRENCH,

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW, Commissioners for New England States. Office in the "Rice House," St. Anthony street.

JOHN B. SANBORN. THEODORE FRENCH.

Then, for the first time, appeared in the public press of Minnesota a name which was destined, in the course of years, to gain a high place in the public thought, and to live forever in the history of a great commonwealth, and in the records of one of the world's greatest wars.

The new firm found a bar of great promise already formed in this remote field, which grew apace in strength and numbers within the next few years. The first few volumes of the official reports of the Supreme Court of this State, particularly the first and second, will ever have an increasing historic interest, far surpassing that which shall attach to the judicial opinions therein recorded, whatever their merit; for they will constitute

a perpetual record and testimonial of the bright intellects which illumined both bench and bar at the beginning of our history. It is, perhaps, just to say that no state was ever favored at its birth with a bar of superior worth.

The name of John B. Sanborn appears as one of the attorneys in four of the causes presented to the Supreme Court in 1858. Thenceforward for more than four decades, excepting the period he was engaged in the military service of his country, his name is frequently met in the files of causes tried in the state and federal courts.

It is almost trite to say that Minnesota was fortunate in the character of the men who shaped her policies during her early development. To whatever cause it be ascribed, the fact remains that a class of remarkable men gathered here to perform the various tasks incident to the creation of a new state. But the cause is not obscure. It required no seer fifty years ago to foretell somewhat of that which civilization would speedily achieve here. There was then rich promise here in the undisturbed wealth of mine, forest, and prairie. There was captivating beauty then in the garb with which nature had here bedecked herself. There were then uncomputed possibilities in energy of waterfall. Then, as now, there was unexcelled salubrity of climate; and, with all, a manifest advantage of situation. Whoever came felt, as did Mr. George, the impress of the greatness of an unborn future. Long before Proctor Knott had convulsed his countrymen with a speech as marked with slander as with wit, truer men than he had, after painstaking research, called attention to the rich domain which awaited here the advent of the forces of civilized life. "The sun shines not upon a fairer region," wrote, in 1850, that faithful witness, General Sibley, "one more desirable as a home for the mechanic, the farmer, and the laborer, or where their industry will be more surely requited, than Minnesota Territory." Here were the conditions which appealed to adventurous youth and early manhood,—those who face the dawn. There was enough of doubt and danger to repel the weak and timid and attract the strong and brave. The treaty of 1851 had opened the gates, and soon the tide of immigration was pouring through. It brought some who were fresh from the

schools and the refining influences of the best of eastern homes. Stirred by the novelty of their environment, and evincing that same generous and ambitious spirit which has ever prompted American youth, they labored with tireless industry and great ability upon the foundations of the Commonwealth.

When General Sanborn arrived in the Territory, much had already been done; but the far greater labor was yet ahead, and, happily, the workmen were in the field, or soon to be there, with thought and energy commensurate with the task.

It required effort to secure from a reluctant Congress an act authorizing the gathering people to clothe themselves in sovereign power. Then came the study and debate incident to the framing of a constitution. A system of legislation had to be enacted suitable to local government. A wilderness had to be pierced with highways, not only to bring together scattered communities but also to secure relations with the markets of the East. These and many other subjects, public and private, engaged the thought and enlisted the energies of the enterprising young men who were then upon the scene. Little, far too little, has been preserved to us of the forensic efforts of that intensely interesting period of our history.

Many a stirring appeal which we would now gladly possess lives only in the fading memories of the favored few who are fast entering into the shadow of the grave.

General Sanborn had passed six years upon that eventful stage before he received the call to lay aside the lawyer's brief and take his place in the red fringe of battle. They had been to him years of great civic as well as professional profit. In that brief period he had impressed himself upon his fellow citizens as a coming man.

The more the question is examined, the stronger will the conviction grow that the legislature which convened in this state in 1860, if ever equalled, has never been surpassed by any later one, either as to the nature or the comprehensiveness of the work accomplished. Fortunate in the character of the men who composed it, that legislature framed many measures which have a durable place in the system of laws by which we are governed. Not that they have not undergone or shall not undergo modification, but that their general structure, which has survived the fur-

nace heat of the past forty-four years, will commend itself to the wisdom of the future.

As chairman of the judiciary committee of the lower house during that session, General Sanborn occupied a position of exceptional responsibility. His selection for the place from among the able lawyers who composed that body, some of whom have since won great distinction in public and private walks, was a marked expression of the respect in which he was then held both as a citizen and as a lawyer. Another circumstance is far too expressive of the public esteem which he had acquired in those early days to be now passed in silence. In the Republican caucus, held in 1860, to make choice of a candidate for the office of United States Senator, he lacked but two votes of receiving the great honor which was conferred upon the late Hon. Morton S. Wilkinson. Every man can trace to some seemingly trivial circumstance—an opportunity seized or lost—his prosperous or failing fortunes; but not often are we presented with an occasion in human life which, viewed in the light of subsequent events, demonstrates more clearly how slender may be the thread, at times, on which a great career depends.

None of the war governors excelled our own lamented Ramsey either in patriotic spirit or the promptitude with which he executed measures in support of the National Government. No subject lay closer to his heart than the organization of troops for military service. Rarely at fault in his choice of men for public station, he was too wise to err in the selection of an officer who would sustain to him so close a relationship as that of his Adjutant General. When the gallant William H. Acker resigned the office of Adjutant General, April 24, 1861, General Sanborn was appointed to succeed him. No wiser choice was, perhaps, possible. His administration of the office bespeaks the faithful public servant. During his brief incumbency, which ended January 1, 1862, four regiments of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and four squadrons of cavalry, were organized for military service.

But it was for him to lead rather than muster troops. Prior to his retirement from the last named office, and on November 5, 1861, he had been commissioned and mustered in as Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers. He assumed its command January 1, 1862. His entrance into military life

was the beginning of a career which, tested either by the nature of the duty or the ability displayed in its discharge, constitutes his chief work, and entitles him to a permanent place in the history of his country.

The best panegyric upon the military services of General Sanborn are the rank he attained, the magnitude of the work to which he was assigned, and the generous and unstudied testimonials of his companions in arms. He was cool and steadfast in the face of danger, wise in council, and never received a promotion which was not fairly earned.

We begin our brief review of his active military service when, in the early summer of 1862, his regiment had become identified with the army of the Mississippi at Corinth. The magnificent display of Union forces, aggregating one hundred and fifty thousand men, which had then gathered in front of that stronghold, appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the young colonel, who, speaking of it years afterward, declared that it "struck the mind with amazement and led to the conviction that a government that could thus raise and organize armies, could not be torn to pieces or conquered, either by covert foes or organized revolution."

It was at Iuka, where he commanded a brigade, that he first faced the storm of battle and where he played his first brilliant part. Confronted with greatly superior numbers, his command there repeatedly repelled the assaults of the enemy. In an action lasting less than two hours, more than twenty-five per cent. of his followers were killed or wounded. The gallantry displayed by him in that engagement drew from General Hamilton, his division commander, the following generous tribute: "To Col. J. B. Sanborn, who, in this his first battle, exhibited a coolness and bravery under fire worthy a veteran, I am greatly indebted;" and he cordially commended him "to the favorable notice of the Government."

A few days later, at the battle of Corinth, he acted with equal ability and courage. Ordered to dislodge the enemy from a well chosen position, his command, with great coolness and precision, changed front under heavy fire, and charged with such effect that the enemy was put to flight. General Buford, in his report of the battle, expressed the opinion that the dis-

lodgment of the enemy was "absolutely necessary," and that "it was done by Colonel Sanborn, commanding the Fourth Minnesota, most gallantly."

His services at the battles of Iuka and Corinth fairly entitled him to immediate promotion. So thought his division commander, who warmly recommended it; and so thought General Grant, whose powerful endorsement it received. Lincoln was not slow to act, and as early as December, 1862, appointed him to the rank of brigadier general. Confirmation of the appointment, retarded perhaps by local political influences, was unjustly delayed until the following session of Congress. Stung by a sense of the ingratitude implied by the delay, General Sanborn, early in August, 1863, tendered his resignation, which had the salutary effect of silencing opposition to his confirmation, which soon followed, and, so far as possible, repaired the wrong which had been inflicted; but the loss of relative rank, carrying with it a loss of military prestige in the army in which he had theretofore performed so useful a part, was an inevitable consequence.

Aside from the engagements above noted, he saw much of active service throughout the period of his connection with the Army of the Mississippi. In many of that series of engagements, culminating in the capitulation of Vicksburg, he held important commands. He did good work at Raymond; made a brilliant and effective charge at Jackson; fought splendidly at Champion's Hill; held his command for hours in the dead space, under the enemy's works, in the fruitless assault upon Vicksburg; and his was the honor of being one of the two brigade commanders designated to occupy Vicksburg on the 4th of July, 1863, when that stronghold was surrendered.

It was the ambition of General Sanborn to continue in service under the immediate leadership of the great soldier whose military genius had displayed itself in brilliant light at Vicksburg. He not only admired the chieftain, but he loved the man. He had enjoyed his companionship in the camp, witnessed his marvelous self-control when battle raged, and won laurels in the execution of his commands. Twenty-two years afterward, when the ardor of youth had been chastened by ripened judgment, he paid to his illustrious commander the follow-

ing tribute: "Considering his character with reference particularly to his military achievements, he stands before the world greater than Alexander, greater than Caesar, greater than Napoleon, and of equal greatness with Wellington."

It was a great disappointment, therefore, when, in the month of October, 1863, he was ordered to report to General Schofield at St. Louis. He was not ignorant of the fact that it had long been remarked in army circles that "the Department of the Missouri was the graveyard of military reputations." Though the new field might afford abundant employment, he did not doubt that the theater of the great events of the war would thereafter be to the east rather than to the west of the Mississippi. Viewing the subject in the calm retrospect of today, enlightened by the record of his labors in the new field, so varied, perplexing, and important, yet always well discharged, it may be doubted whether any other field would have developed in him greater powers of usefulness to his country.

Missouri had been from the outset a hotbed of contentious factions. Saved from secession only by the dauntless efforts of her loyal forces under the leadership of her valiant Lyon, her territory had been swept by invading hosts, her communities terrorized by armed marauders, and her soil frequently drenched with the blood of her own sons, in conflicts in which they were arrayed one against the other. The patriotic men of that state had doubtless always been in the ascendant; but she had few, if any, communities in which neighbor was not bitterly hostile to neighbor. And this was particularly true of southwestern Missouri, embraced within the military district to which General Sanborn was assigned.

When he reported to General Schofield in October, 1863, there was no organized rebel force in the state; and yet he was confronted with war in its most horrible aspects. His district was everywhere infested with bushwhackers who butchered their captives with inhuman atrocity. To pacify a country so disturbed, was a herculean task; but his prompt and vigorous measures were to prove sufficient to it.

The invasion of the state in the fall of 1864 by a large cavalry force of Confederates under General Price gave General Sanborn an opportunity to display again his qualities as a com-

manding officer in the field. During the month of October of that year, frequent battles were waged with the invading force in which he participated. He fought and repulsed the enemy at Jefferson City and at Boonville; led the advance at Independence, where his cavalry made an intrepid sabre charge; did effective work at Mine Creek, where, by the persistency of his efforts, he prevented the escape of the enemy unpunished. At Newtonia he fought so well as to draw from Greeley, in his History of the War, this spirited passage: "Belmont, with his Kansas men and Benteen's brigade, followed by Sanborn, kept the trail of the flying foe; striking them at Newtonia, near the southwest corner of the state, and, being outnumbered, was evidently getting worsted, when Sanborn—who had marched one hundred and two miles in thirty-six hours—came up, and changed the fortunes of the day. . . . So ended the last Rebel invasion of Missouri." And so ended the last battle in which our subject participated.

No ingenuous reader can carefully peruse the military record of General Sanborn without admiration for his qualities as a soldier. He was a successful commander. Engaged in "twenty sieges, battles, and affairs," his command never failed to execute an order, "was never driven from its position, never pursued by the enemy," and never suffered the loss by capture of a single sound soldier. This is a remarkable statement, substantially in language as penned by our subject, yet careful research has failed to disclose any ground for its modification. A career marked with so large a measure of success cannot be ascribed to the mere capriciousness of fortune. The favorites of fortune are the brave, the wise, the prompt, the vigilant. His sword flashed too often in the fray; there were too many forced marches, too many desperate charges, too many repulses of the enemy, too much of dogged persistency, to justify disparagement of his military fame by any form of specious reasoning. If he was not a great, he was yet an able, commander.

His sagacity nowhere displayed itself to better effect than in the administration of martial law within his jurisdiction. By wise and vigorous measures he so composed the most turbulent social conditions, that comparative peace and order reigned. If he smote at times with a heavy hand, it was only because milder

means were unsuited to the task. General Sanborn always preferred the agencies of peace to those of war; and early following the submission of Lee at Appomattox, he issued his famous General Orders No. 35, whereby civil law was almost wholly restored in an extensive region, which, for nearly three years, had been subject to martial rule. That the order was both wise and timely, was the unqualified opinion of the governor of that state, expressed in a letter under date of June 1, 1865, in which the writer says:

"The Order is most admirably conceived, clearly expressed, and has throughout the right tone; and in it I recognize and gratefully acknowledge the most effective assistance I have yet received toward the reinstatment of order in Missouri. Rest assured that when peace and the arts of industry shall once more have assumed their legitimate sway in the State which you have done so much to save, your name will be cherished with increasing reverence."

His administration was uniformly characterized by a spirit of justice; and yet it received at times the severest criticism of both friend and foe. "Oftentimes," says the historian of Greene County, "the General was assailed by extreme radical Union men for his protection of the persons and property of rebels from those who wished to 'vex the Midianites,' to spoil them and spare not; and again the Confederate partizans would denounce him for his unrelenting pursuit of bushwhackers, who were rendering so much property insecure and so many lives unsafe. But General Sanborn kept on his course of repressing and repelling the violent of both factions, of protecting the good and punishing the bad, and, with a wise conservatism, so managed affairs that at last all but the most disreputable endorsed him; and, today, he is given great praise by men of all parties and former shades of opinion."

Thus is see how durably the life of our subject is interwoven in the history of two great states: Minnesota, the state of his adoption; Missouri, in which he tarried only by the stern decrees of war. And in both he verifies the scripture, "The memory of the just is blessed."

Little remains to be said of his military career. He relinquished his command of Southwestern Missouri, June 7,

1865, and assumed command of the District of the Upper Arkansas, July 12, 1865. He was directed to proceed against various tribes of Indians with a large force of cavalry and infantry. Within a few weeks he had satisfactorily, and without bloodshed, accomplished his mission.

At the concluion of this service, he was designated and acted as one of a commission, consisting, besides himself, of General Harney, Kit Carson, William Bent, and one of the official staff of the Department of the Interior, to meet in council, October 4, 1865, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, various Indian tribes. Shortly after this, he was commissioned by the Secretary of the Interior to treat with the Choctaw and other Indian tribes with respect to the liberation of their slaves. This task, although not without its difficulties, was speedily accomplished to the satisfaction of both master and slave.

Thus closed his active services to his Government, save the service to which reference will soon be made. He was brevetted Major General of Volunteers, February 10, 1866, for gallant and meritorious services in the campaign in Missouri against the Confederate Army under General Price; and he was mustered out of military service May 31, 1866.

At the conclusion of his military services, General Sanborn returned to Minnesota with the intention of resuming the practice of his profession and devoting thereto his remaining years. This plan was, however, early interrupted.

His thorough familiarity with the Indian character, and his eminent success in treating with the Indians on the occasions already referred to, led to his appointment in 1867 as a member of a Peace Commission to treat with the Cheyennes, Comanches, and other hostile tribes which had long been the source of trouble to the Government. The personnel of the commission bespeaks the care with which its members were selected, and the distinguished honor which attaches to an appointment to it. His associates upon the Commission were Generals Sherman, Harney and Terry, and Senator John B. Henderson. The commission prosecuted its labors with great thoroughness, carefully investigating all causes of grievances, and thus acquired such a knowledge of the needs of the tribes as permitted the adoption of a more rational policy of governmental supervision over them. As the result of the intelligent service of the Com-

mission, the Indians were generally pacified and the whites upon the frontiers became comparatively secure.

General Sanborn was engaged more or less with the duties of the Peace Commission for upwards of a year. With what humanitarian views he approached that important task, may be gathered from an address which he delivered in 1869 upon the subject of "Indians and Our Indian Relations." He was unsparing in that address in his characterization of the unwise, illiberal, costly, and destructive policy, which the Government had from the outset evinced toward the inferior race. The keynote of his plea was: "Let them be localized, educated, and Christianized." He may not have been wholly right, but he was unquestionably sincere.

This duty performed, the remaining years of his life were chiefly devoted to professional work. With a view to befriending an old acquaintance, he formed a partnership in 1867 with Charles King, Esq., under the name of Sanborn & King, with offices at Washington, D. C., to which he devoted several months annually and until his retirement from the firm in July, 1878. The business of the Washington firm was extensive and lucrative; and, what was most gratifying to the senior member, it proved of great value to his friend, Mr. King. On January 1, 1871, he became associated with his nephew, the Hon. Walter H. Sanborn, under the firm name of John B. & W. H. Sanborn, to which was added January 1, 1882, another nephew, Edward P. Sanborn, Esq. Upon the elevation of the first named nephew, in 1891 to the office of Circuit Judge, the remaining members continued in professional association under the name of John B. & E. P. Sanborn, until May 15, 1904, when the senior member departed this life.

Upon the retirement of Judge McCreary as Circuit Judge of the Eighth District, many prominent members of the bar, unsolicited by General Sanborn, joined in a strong and earnest recommendation for his appointment to fill the vacancy so caused, thus furnishing an expressive testimonial of the esteem in which he was held by his professional brethren. The appointment went to the distinguished jurist, Mr. Justice Brewer, in deference in some degree to geographical considerations.

None would approve less than General Sanborn extravagant encomium upon his work as a lawyer. He did not rise to great

eminence at the bar. Too many years had been spent upon the New Hampshire farm and devoted to his country's service to afford opportunity for that needful early culture, mental discipline, and thorough familiarity with the sages of the law, without which one must be rarely gifted to attain professional greatness. And yet it was his fortune to be professionally identified with several notable causes whose adjudication have become authoritative in the field of jurisprudence. Bearing in mind that his entrance into the legal profession began at an age when many another has already made his mark at the bar, the limited range of his scholastic attainments, the mass of non-professional work in which he was engaged, truth demands that we accord to his work as a lawyer a generous meed of praise. He possessed in a rare degree that excellent quality, too often wanting in the lawyer's intellectual assets, a solid judgment. This bridged him safely over many a dangerous chasm where mere learning might have failed. Experience had taught him the value of a mastery of the facts of his cause, and a perfectly sane mind guided him almost unerringly in the application of legal principles and saved him from that refined reasoning which too commonly misguides the less practical into unproductive fields. He was a lawyer with whom one could safely counsel in many branches of the law. That sterling manhood which shone through all his acts could not fail to gain for him on all occasions the respect of the bench, bar, and jury; and he was always strong in the confidence of the public. These are qualities which contribute not slightly to success at the bar.

Always a friend to the young, he inclined his ear readily to the younger members of the bar who sought his counsel. To their darkness he furnished light, and to their discouragement he applied the balm of a cheerful word. Ah, what power for good resides in the heart of a noble man! General Sanborn's presence was a benediction.

When the Minnesota Department of the Grand Army of the Republic was formed, General Sanborn became its first commander. He was also a charter member of the Loyal Legion of this state, and was twice elected its commander.

He became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1856, and, except the years in which he was engaged in the military service of his country, he took a deep and active interest in its welfare. He was elected a councilor of this Society in 1875, an

office which he continuously occupied until his death. At the death of the late Alexander Ramsey, he was chosen to fill the vacancy so caused in the presidency of the society, a position which he was occupying when he in turn was overtaken by the fell destroyer.

The contributions of General Sanborn to the Loyal Legion and to this Society embrace several original papers of historic interest which are invaluable for the light they shed upon the subjects to which they relate.

He was for many years an active and influential member of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, frequent in attendance at its sessions and often participating in the discussion of its questions and measures. He was president of that body for the years 1881 to 1885. It was during his incumbency of that office that the Chamber of Commerce became deeply interested in the subject of better hotel accommodations for St. Paul. General Sanborn was the moving spirit in arousing public sentiment and enlisting the efforts of men of wealth in furtherance of the enterprise. To no one are the people of this city more deeply indebted than to him for their great hostelry, the Ryan Hotel, which was the direct result of the agitation.

He represented the County of Ramsey in the State Legislature as a member of the House of Representatives in the sessions beginning respectively December 7, 1859, and January 2, 1872; and as State Senator during the Legislatures which assembled respectively on January 8, 1861, January 6, 1891, and January 3, 1893. In the field of legislation, he was always wise, conservative, and assiduous, opposed to extravagant expenditures, and zealous in whatever conduced to the public welfare.

Too often was his door-post marked by the destroying angel; yet was there apportioned to him a generous measure of domestic happiness. He was married at Newton, N. J., in 1857 to Catharine Hall, who, after three brief years, died in St. Paul, November 16, 1860, and is buried in Oakland cemetery. Two children were born of this marriage. One, a son, died in infancy, while a daugher, Hattie F. Sanborn, lived until 1880.

General Sanborn married Anna Elmer Nixon, on November 27, 1865, and she died in 1878, leaving no children.

April 15, 1880, he married Rachel Rice, daughter of the prominent St. Paul pioneer and Congressman, Hon. Edmund

Rice. She, with their four children, Lucy Sargent, John B., Jr., Rachel, and Frederick, who all survive him, have constituted his delightful family. He loved his home, and exemplified the virtues of the true husband and the wise parent. Hospitality presided at his hearth, and the visitor who crossed his sill, read, Welcome! in his kindly face.

If asked to state the most pronounced characteristic of our subject, the answer would be, great-heartedness. He was charitable by instinct; and his benefactions, though many, were rarely seen or known of men. To any of his companions in arms to whom fortune had been niggardly in material things, he gave freely, and sometimes with greater generosity than was just to himself. He was generous of his time. When many another would have pleaded a pressure of private affairs, he responded promptly, fully, and, not infrequently, with effectiveness. To shirk a duty was foreign to his nature. He never shifted to other shoulders a burden which his own should bear. In his half century of western life he had few idle hours. Every day had its duties and there was no procrastination.

So much health was there in his blood, and so much sunshine in his heart, that his nature never soured under the burden of cares or sorrows or weight of years. Wherever met, whether in the heat of a trial in court, or in the council of this Society which he loved, or in his office, or on the street, or at his home, whatever the employment or occasion, rarely did he withold a pleasant look and cordial greeting. Yet the clouds of righteous wrath could gather dark and threatening upon his brow and tones of thunder escape his lips. When his command had suffered severely in a fruitless assault against the enemy's fortifications at Vicksburg, an assault which was wholly due to the blunder of another general officer, he displayed splendid rage. If such things were to be tolerated, he would leave the army, he said, if he had to be "shot out of it."

It has been observed by one who knew him well, that he was a natural entertainer. He possessed the rare faculty of adapting himself to the demands of the occasion. Come who would, high or low, wise or simple, one was met who could make any hour interesting. Conversation had made him ready, and reading had made him full. He had, in his day, enjoyed converse with many distinguished men. He was on familiar terms with many of the

noted commanders of the Civil War. His large experience in Washington life brought him in touch with the country's statesmen. He had seen much of courts, judges, and lawyers. He had enjoyed after-dinner chats with Waite, Miller, and Chase. A lively interest in current events, coupled with a fondness for reading and a retentive memory, had stored his mind with a rich fund of valuable information and interesting anecdote. He loved the social hour and made it a joy to those who were wise enough to tap the choicest vintage.

General Sanborn was a public-spirited citizen. His patriotism was a passion. He fought his country's battles because he loved his country. He accepted office at sixty-five as he drew his sword at thirty-five, as a public duty. It was not mere declamation, but the expression of settled conviction, when, in a memorial address in 1885, he exclaimed: "Far distant be the day when the historian of our republic shall be compelled to inscribe on any page those words so frequently found in the histories of declining and failing states, 'Everything became venal.'. But let the fires of patriotism burn and glow with flames so pure and bright that all that is sordid and selfish shall be consumed before them and be nowhere found in the republic."

Breathing the same lofty spirit is the fine passage taken from his oration delivered before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, an address of great strength and beauty: "It is not the man," he says, "who most foments strife, discord and discontent among the people, or who may delight them most with strains of eloquence or flashes of intelligence and wit, but he who marks out for them, through the long future, paths of peace and prosperity in which all may walk, and who does most to promote the highest happiness of his fellow countrymen, who is the greatest statesman."

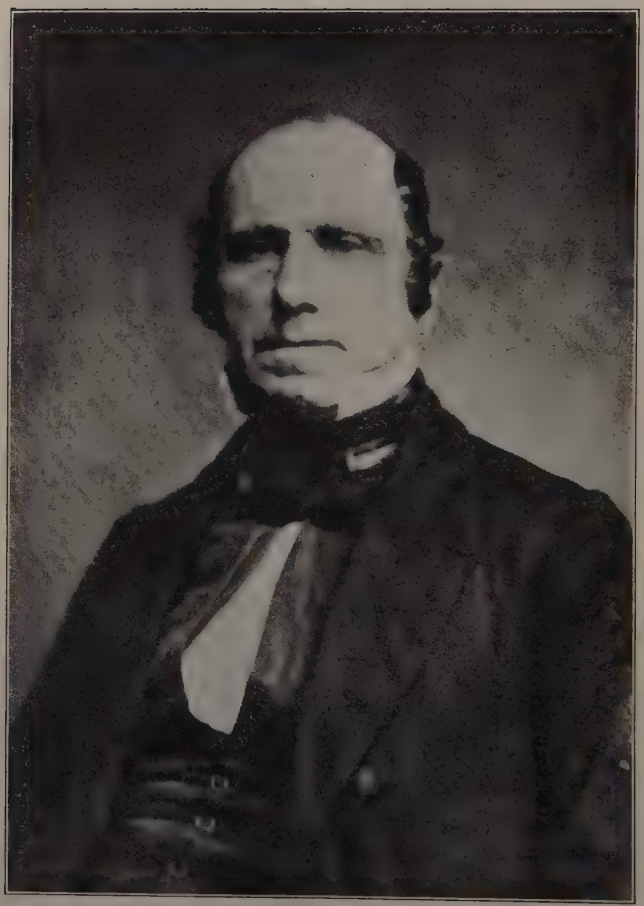
Actuated by such sentiments, he did not hesitate to speak strongly against any measure of injustice. He denounced an inflated currency as a prolific source of evil, and he regarded with abhorrence a reckless expenditure of the public revenues. His patriotism displayed itself in his zeal for the welfare of his state and city, as well as of his country. He rejoiced that Minnesota, unlike other states, had not been despoiled of her grant of lands made by Congress for educational purposes; and he looked with disfavor upon the tendency to multiply offices, an evil all too

prominent in recent years. He had given far too much thought to social problems not to understand that business prosperity and excessive taxation are incompatible conditions. That inflexible integrity which ruled his purposes left no room for doubt that a public office is a public trust.

He was brave in death. When the hour for his departure had arrived, it found him strong in the Christian faith, and he faced the Hereafter with serenity,

"Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Naught would we detract from the honors due to New Hampshire, whose rugged hills were pressed by the childhood feet of Webster and Chase, Dix and Chandler, Cass and Greeley, whose scholars have enriched thought, and whose patriots have strengthened the pillars of the Republic; yet fitting is it that, rather than the New England state which boasts his birth, her fair young sister, Minnesota, which developed his strength, should treasure in her soil the ashes of the citizen whose deeds are among the jewels that adorn her brow.



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WILLIAM HOLCOMBE.*

BY MRS. ANDREW E. KILPATRICK.

As one who came to the Northwest before Minnesota had any political existence, a sketch of William Holcombe may be of interest to those who would perpetuate the memory of the pioneers who helped to make this state.

William Holcombe was born at Lambertville, N. J., July 22, 1804, the oldest of the eight children of Emley Holcombe and Mary Skillman. His direct ancestor, John Holcombe, with a brother, Jacob, came to America with William Penn on his second voyage in 1700, landing at Philadelphia with other members of the Society of Friends, and living there for several years. He bought a tract of 350 acres of land, in or near what is now Lambertville, N. J., where he and his wife, Elizabeth Woolrich, settled and raised a family of sons and daughters, who with their descendants remained there for a hundred years. They intermarried among the Barber, Emley, Lawrence, and other good old English families, some of whom were Friends. On the Skillman, or maternal side, William Holcombe was a direct descendant of that William Beekman who came to the New Netherlands with Governor Stuyvesant in 1647, and who purchased Corlear's Hook, afterward known as Crown Point, and of Claes Arente Van Veghte, an equally early and honorable resident of New Amsterdam. In all lines were representative men, assemblymen and persons of note in the community, representatives to the Continental Congress, and soldiers in the Continental Army, "Friends" though many of them were.

It is not surprising, then, that William, following the traditions and instincts of his forefathers, should early seek for a

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 13, 1901. In the absence of the author, a granddaughter of Lieutenant Governor Holcombe, this paper was read by Hon. Henry L. Moss.

more enlarged field than the limits of the ancestral home seemed to furnish. According to the invariable custom of the Society of Friends, he was bred to a trade, that of carriage maker, which he appears to have followed for a time.

At the age of eighteen he moved to Utica, N. Y., then on the verge of civilization, where the only event of importance we have concerning him is the record of his marriage, July 30, 1826, to Martha, daughter of Jacob Wilson, at Sullivan, Madison county, N. Y. It is possible that they were remote connections, as Jacob Wilson's mother was a Holcombe.

Another move westward in 1829, brought William to Ohio where he dwelt first in Columbus, later in Cincinnati. In each place a son was born, and in the latter, then a thriving town of ten thousand inhabitants, he owned a large carriage factory; but in 1835, the westward movement still possessing him, he proceeded onward to St. Louis, a place of five thousand people at that time. While there, he was a member of the firm of Strother, Holcombe & Co., which, among other investments, bought a steamboat and named it "Olive Branch," from the family crest of the Holcombes, and William became its captain. During his residence in Ohio he had become deeply concerned in spiritual things and united with the Presbyterian Church. He exemplified his piety, and consistently carried out his principles, by refusing to run his boat on Sunday.

On the first trip from St. Louis to Galena, when Saturday evening arrived the boat was tied up to the bank at sundown, there to remain until the same hour on Sunday, in spite of the remonstrances of the passengers, who, many of them, left her, and proceeded on their way by another steamer, only to be stuck upon a sandbar and to have the mortification of seeing the "Olive Branch" pass them before their destination was reached.

This policy was pursued through the entire season, and dire financial results were predicted from following such a course; but Captain Holcombe afterward told, with much satisfaction, that his boat made one more trip than any other, and almost paid for herself in the season.

The residence in St. Louis was brief, and, in 1836, we find him in Galena, Illinois, where his young wife died and was buried. It was on a visit to this place ten years later that he met and married his second wife. Meantime he had moved on, still seek-

ing the frontier, to the valley of the St. Croix, and in 1839 settled permanently at Stillwater, then a portion of Wisconsin Territory.

Here he commenced the development of the lumbering interest, and was engaged in steamboating and other commercial pursuits, and, at the same time, was deeply interested in the moral and social welfare of the struggling settlements upon the frontier. In 1846, he was a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Wisconsin, and there gained the reputation which he always maintained of a sound political economist and a thoroughly radical Democrat.

In 1847, William Holcombe married Mrs. Henrietta King Clendenin, a native of Toledo, Ohio, and widow of Lieutenant Clendenin, U. S. A., a refined and cultured woman, rather proud and distant, whose translation to the hardships of a frontier town was a very trying experience for her. Their first home was on the borders of Lake St. Croix, on what is now the main street of Stillwater, and their earliest visitors were Indians and "loggers."

In 1848, he was secretary of the first convention held in Stillwater for the purpose of organizing a new Territory. A few days after this convention adjourned, a letter was written by General Sibley and Mr. Holcombe to Hon. John Catlin of Madison, Wis., "submitting to him the proposition that the division of Wisconsin Territory and the admission of a portion thereof as a State into the Union did not disfranchise that portion outside of the state boundaries.....Mr. Catlin at once responded.....coinciding with their views on the question" (quoted from "Last Days of Wisconsin Territory and Early Days of Minnesota Territory," by Hon. Henry L. Moss, in Volume VIII of this Society's Collections). "He was one of five to petition Congress to strike off a certain part of the then Territory of Wisconsin not included in the then State of Wisconsin, to be called the Territory of Minnesota."

Later he held for four years the position of Receiver of the Land Office at Stillwater, a very important position at that time. His son Edwin was his clerk and recorded the original town plats of the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and these two laid out what is known as Holcombe's Addition to St. Paul, one of its most beautiful residence districts, lying between Summit and Dayton avenues, west of Dale street. Mr. Holcombe also laid out Holcombe's Addition to Stillwater.

"In 1857, he was a member of the convention which formed

the Constitution of Minnesota, and took an active part in the deliberations. The record of the debates shows that in all provisions for public education, the preservation of the school fund, and kindred subjects, he manifested the greatest interest."

"In 1858, upon the organization of the State, he was elected the first Lieutenant Governor, an office which he held for two years. As President of the Senate, he was not only distinguished for ripe experience and ability, but for remarkable dignity of manner and unfailing courtesy under all circumstances."

After his retirement from this office, he became an active member of the State Normal School Board, and filled many other public offices; but, to quote the words of Rev. J. G. Riheldaffer in a minute recorded at a meeting of the Presbyterian Synod in St. Paul, October 3, 1870, "That which lay nearest to his heart was the Church of Christ."

"He was largely instrumental in the organization of the First Church of Stillwater, in which he served as an elder up to the organization of the Second Church, and the latter was built and sustained largely by his individual efforts and means. He was President of the Minnesota Bible Society, and also President of the State Sabbath School Association." We may add, in proof of the very vital assistance rendered by Lieutenant Governor Holcombe to the Second Church of Stillwater, that after his death it languished and the edifice was sold in a few years and the congregation dispersed.

In 1856, Mr. Holcombe built what was for those days a fine mansion on a six-acre tract of land on the banks of Lily Lake, then in the suburbs of Stillwater. Opposite his gate lies a park, donated by him to the city; and across the lake, on the hills, he owned a farm, now the Lily Lake Driving Park. At his home profuse hospitality was dispensed to all who chose to come, friends and strangers sharing alike of his abundance, though the surest way to his heart was found by the members of his beloved church. Public man though he was, his home was the center of his life, and his great pleasure was to fill it with friends and kindred.

It was here that William Holcombe was stricken fatally by apoplexy on the night of September 5, 1870, and his family had barely time to rush to his assistance, when his spirit passed away in prayer. At the time of his death he was Mayor of Stillwater,

having inaugurated and carried on many public improvements which make the city accessible and beautiful to-day. He was also Superintendent of the Public Schools.

No railroads reached Stillwater at that time, but from the adjacent country old friends and admirers flocked to do honor to their foremost citizen, and, in spite of pouring rain and bad country roads, school children and their elders alike in procession attended the remains to their last resting place in Fairview Cemetery.

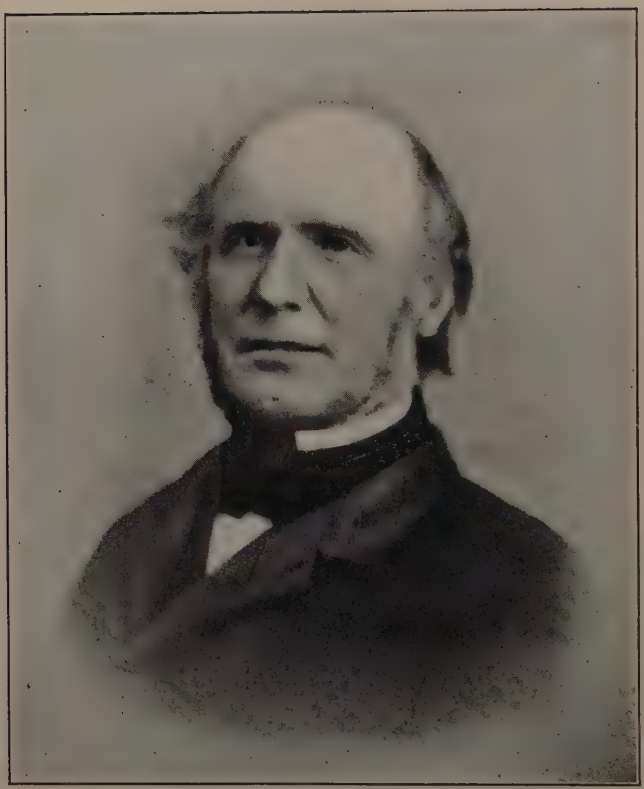
Mr. Holcombe was a charter member of the St. John's Lodge No. 1 of the Masonic Order in Stillwater, organized in 1849, and was buried with the rites of the order.

A portrait of him in early youth, painted in oils, now in the possession of his grandson, Edwin R. Holcombe of St. Paul, shows a fine, strong, yet tender face, gray eyes, and curling, bright brown hair of that peculiar chestnut tint which retains the color late in life. A later portrait, taken when he was lieutenant governor, shows the hair thinned by time though still dark, and the mobile mouth compressed into firmer lines, but withal the kindliness is still apparent.

The Dutch and English blood were traceable not only in his appearance but in his disposition, a blending of sturdy common sense, firmness, and independence, tempered by a most loving heart toward all humanity. He was gentle and peace-loving, his "Quaker" training rendering him always a non-combatant, yet he was a man of strong convictions and unyielding in upholding what he thought to be right.

A young man in a new country, through material prosperity and political struggles and successes, he established and maintained a name honored for scrupulous integrity in all his dealings.

Of William Holcombe's two sons who both survived him, the elder, William Wilson Holcombe, died in 1889, leaving a married son. The second, Edwin Van Buren Holcombe, was a resident of St. Paul the greater part of his life, married Miss Adele Soulard of an old St. Louis family, and died in St. Paul in 1899, stricken suddenly as was his father, and at the same age. Edwin is survived by his widow, a son Edwin, and a married daughter (the writer of this sketch). His second son, who was named William for Lieutenant Governor Holcombe, passed away before his father.



Moses Sherburne

MOSES SHERBURNE.*

BY SIMEON MILLS HAYES.

This sketch is not designed to be an elaborate biography of Moses Sherburne, nor a recital of the part he played in the history of Minnesota. Knowledge of his active participation in the events of Territorial days and in the development of the State from the date of its admission to the Union until his death in 1868, must be gleaned from court files, newspapers, and the recollections of his contemporaries. The narrative which follows is devoted mainly to his career before his emigration from the East to St. Paul, the subsequent events of his life being referred to very briefly. The facts related have been culled from original documents in the possession of the writer's family, and are believed to be more nearly complete than those hitherto recorded concerning him.

Moses Sherburne, United States territorial judge of the Territory of Minnesota, was a conspicuous figure in the early days of Minnesota, and was largely instrumental in guiding the Territory into statehood. He was the son of Samuel Sherburne and Lucy Carson, residents of Maine, both of English descent. The oldest of five children, he was born on January 25, 1808, at Mount Vernon, Kennebec county, Maine, where he passed his boyhood days. His general education was obtained at the public schools of Mount Vernon, and at the Academy of the town of China, Maine, an institution of local celebrity in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even in his childhood and youth he attracted attention as a receptive and thorough student, and gave evidence of the mental qualities that were distinguishing features of his matured life.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 12, 1902.

After his graduation from the Academy at China, he chose the legal profession as his vocation, and entered the law office of Hon. Nathan Cutler, of Farmington, Maine, where he was for two years until his admission to the bar of his native state. In 1831 he took up his residence and began the practice of law at Phillips, then in Somerset county, but later in Franklin county, Maine, where he continued to reside until his removal to Minnesota in April, 1853. In 1832 he married Sophia Dyar Whitney, daughter of Joel Whitney of Phillips, who was afterward a well known citizen of St. Paul, Minn., and one of the proprietors of Whitney and Smith's Addition to St. Paul.

Sherburne was a successful lawyer from the beginning of his practice. His absolute integrity, imposing presence, accurate learning, and oratorical endowments, drew clients from neighboring counties, and brought him almost immediately into prominence. Although never an office-seeker, his popularity and the general respect felt for his ability made him a recipient of public offices during the greater portion of his professional life. On September 13, 1837, when twenty-nine years of age, he was appointed postmaster of Phillips, and on April 8, 1838, less than seven months later, Governor Kent appointed him county attorney of Franklin county.

By this time he had fairly entered the political field, and soon afterward was elected to the Lower House in the Maine Legislature, where he served one term, after which he was chosen State Senator for two successive terms. His attention to politics was accompanied by active interest in the militia, and on August 12, 1840, Governor Fairfield commissioned him Division Inspector with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the Eighth Division, Maine Militia, a rank held by him until March 29, 1842, when he was promoted by Governor Fairfield to be Major General of the same Division.

Meanwhile he had received a judicial appointment, the first of many which retained him continuously on the bench both of his native state and of Minnesota until 1857. On the first day of October, 1840, Governor Fairfield nominated him as Officer for Administration of Oaths and Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum for Franklin county for a term of seven years. His services in this minor judicial office were so satisfactory that on June 30, 1845, he was raised by Governor Anderson to the position of

Judge of Probate for the county of Franklin for a term of seven years. In those days in New England the office of Probate Judge was deemed to be of high dignity, and its duties were performed by Judge Sherburne in a manner that greatly enhanced his reputation.

On June 24, 1847, Governor Dana appointed him Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum for the entire State of Maine.

In 1850 he filled the office of Bank Commissioner under an appointment by Governor Hubbard of Maine.

About this time Judge Sherburne was nominated for Congress by the Democratic party of his Congressional district; but, although running ahead of his associates on the Democratic ticket, he was defeated, the district being strongly Whig.

The eloquent and able speeches of Judge Sherburne during the political canvass following his nomination for Congress had widely extended his reputation, and had brought him to the notice of Franklin Pierce. The acquaintance thus formed ripened into a friendship, and when Mr. Pierce became President of the United States, he appointed Moses Sherburne Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the newly formed Territory of Minnesota. In speaking of this appointment, the Eastern Argus of Portland, Maine, of April 18, 1853, said, "The President could hardly have selected a man better suited to this honorable and responsible position."

In April, 1853, Moses Sherburne came to Minnesota to fill his new judicial office, and he occupied the bench until 1857, when he resigned to resume private practice of the law, in which he was engaged until the time of his death.

When the Territory of Minnesota applied for admission to the Union as a state, Judge Sherburne took a prominent part in the deliberations which resulted in the adoption of the State Constitution, and his remarks during the Constitutional Convention are among the valuable original sources to which the future historian of Minnesota will apply for an insight into the problems and motives of the Fathers of the North Star State.

Judge Sherburne was an enthusiastic Mason. On August 6, 1840, he founded the Blue Mountain Lodge of Masons in Phillips, Maine. He was second Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Masons of the Territory of Minnesota, and a member of the Ancient Landmark Lodge of St. Paul.

During his residence in Minnesota, he was deeply interested in the development of the young Territory and State. He was a joint proprietor of Ashton and Sherburne's Addition to St. Paul, and his name was given to Sherburne avenue, St. Paul, and to Sherburne county, Minnesota.

Judge Sherburne died on March 29, 1868, at Orono, in Sherburne county, whither he had gone a short time previous to practice law and to engage in various business enterprises.

He left several children, of whom three now survive, namely, Sarah Sherburne Brisbine, of St. Paul, widow of the late Doctor Albert G. Brisbine, and Moses Thaxter Sherburne and James Chapman Sherburne, of Des Moines, Iowa.

Moses Sherburne was a man of commanding stature and intellect. His manners were courtly, his nature genial. He had an open, benevolent countenance, regular yet strongly marked features, and keen, deep blue eyes.

His demeanor on the bench was dignified and becoming a judicial position. As a lawyer and judge he was in the first rank. His *orbiter dicta* always carried weight and were regarded almost as law, and his decisions are authoritative. After leaving the bench, up to the day of his death, he was constantly in demand as senior counsel, and his learning and skill in court were everywhere respected.

Judge Sherburne had unusual gifts as an orator. His language was chaste, vigorous, and idiomatic, and his reasoning logical and conclusive. He usually appealed to the understanding rather than to the emotions; but on proper occasions his impassioned eloquence, bursting forth from a cold, unornamented background, produced an overwhelming effect.

DECEASED MEMBERS OF THIS SOCIETY, 1901–1904.

GEORGE LOOMIS BECKER was born in Locke, N. Y., February 4, 1829, and died at his home in St. Paul, January 6, 1904. He was graduated at the state university of Michigan in 1846; studied law; came to Minnesota in 1849, and began the practice of his profession in St. Paul. During Governor Sibley's administration, General Becker served on his staff as quartermaster general. In 1859 he was the Democratic candidate for Governor. He was a state senator, 1868-71. He became land commissioner of the St. Paul and Pacific railroad in 1862, and was ever afterward prominent in advancing the railroad interests of Minnesota, being a member of the State Railroad Commission from 1885 to 1901. Becker county was named in his honor in 1858. He became a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1856, and was its president in 1874.

DOUGLAS BRYMNER was born at Greenock, Scotland, July 3, 1823. He moved to Canada in 1857, and engaged in journalism, becoming associate editor of the Montreal Daily Herald. He was appointed Dominion Archivist in 1872, removing then to Ottawa. During thirty years he fulfilled the duties of that office, a large series of reports of great value to Canadian history being published under his direction. He was elected a corresponding member of this Society, February 8, 1897. He died in Ottawa, June 19, 1902.

RICHARD C. BURDICK was born in Michigan in 1834, and died in St. Paul, October 13, 1902. He came here in 1851 and was employed by transportation and surveying companies. He was a representative in the Territorial legislature in 1855. Later he resided in Pembina and Winnipeg and in Minneapolis. He was elected a corresponding member of this Society July 8, 1867.

JAMES HENRY DUNN was born at Fort Wayne, Ind., May 29, 1853. He came to Minnesota with his parents when only a year old; was graduated at the State Normal School in Winona in 1872. Later he studied medicine in Chicago and New York, and took special courses of study in Germany, France, and Italy. Upon returning to this country he established a large practice in Minneapolis, and became a professor in the medical department of the University of Minnesota. While attending a convention of the American Surgical Association in St. Louis, Mo., he died very suddenly, June 16, 1904. He became a life member of this Society December 11, 1882.

JOHN FISKE, whose original name was Edmund Fiske Green, was born in Hartford, Conn., March 30, 1842; was graduated at Harvard College in 1863, and at Harvard Law School in 1865, but never practiced law. From 1869 to 1879 he was a lecturer and instructor in Harvard University, being for seven years assistant librarian. He was the author of many books, magazine articles, and addresses. During the last twenty years his work was almost wholly in American history. He was elected an honory member of this Society in 1897. He died July 4, 1901.

CHARLES EUGENE FLANDRAU was born in New York City, July 15, 1828; and died at his home in St. Paul, September 9, 1903. He was admitted to the bar in 1851; came to St. Paul in 1853, and opened an office in partnership with Horace R. Bigelow; was one of the first settlers of St. Peter, 1854; was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, 1857; was associate justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, 1857-64; resided in Minneapolis, 1867-70; and then returned to St. Paul. During the Sioux outbreak, in August, 1862, Judge Flandrau commanded the volunteer forces in their defense of New Ulm. He became a life member of this Historical Society, December 8, 1879; and was a member of its Council from 1882 until his death. (See the Memorial Addresses in the foregoing pages, 767-830.)

ALPHEUS G. FULLER was born in Scotland, Conn., June 22, 1822, and came as early as 1850 from Connecticut to St. Paul. In 1856 he built and owned the Fuller House in this city, which was afterward called the International Hotel. Mr. Fuller was elected a life member of this Society, January 15, 1856. The next

year he removed from St. Paul, and joined in founding the first white settlement in the area of South Dakota, at Sioux Falls. Later he resided at Fort Randall and at Yankton, S. D., and after 1894 at Pocomoke City, Md. He died at the home of his daughter in Scotland, Conn., April 13, 1900.

Charles Duncan Gilfillan was born in New Hartford, N. Y., July 4, 1831; and died in St. Paul, December 18, 1902. He was educated at Homer Academy and Hamilton College in New York. He came to Minnesota in 1851, and three years later settled in St. Paul. He was president of the company that in 1869 completed the city water works. He was a prominent Republican, and served in both branches of the state legislature. During the later years of his life he engaged largely in farming in Redwood County. He became a member of this society in 1867, and a life member in 1880.

Julius M. Goldsmith was born in Port Washington, Wis., in 1857, and died at his home in St. Paul, after a short illness, May 4, 1904. He came to Minnesota in 1882, settling in St. Paul, where in 1890 he became treasurer of the State Savings Bank, and held this position until his death. He was elected to membership in this Society December 11, 1899.

William Henry Grant was born in Lyndeborough, N. H., December 23, 1829; and died at Sandstone, Minn., August 8, 1901. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1854. He settled in St. Paul in 1859, where he practiced law, and was interested in real estate and lumbering. He was historian and registrar of the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and was nine times elected Worshipful Master of the St. Paul Lodge, No. 3, A. F. and A. M. He became a member of this Society in 1880; was elected to life membership January 11, 1892; and was a member of its Executive Council after April 11, 1892.

Joseph Jackson Howard was born at Woodside, Cheshire, England, April 12, 1827. He held an official position in the postal service of England during thirty-seven years, retiring in 1888. Early in life he became an expert in researches of heraldry and genealogy. He was one of the founders of the Harleian Society in

1869, and was its honorary treasurer from that time until the end of the year 1901. He was the editor of many of the publications of that society, and of a quarterly magazine. Dr. Howard was elected an honorary member of the Minnesota Historical Society, July 12, 1869. He died at Hampton Hill, England, April 18, 1902.

RICHARD MARVIN was born in Henckley, England, May 28, 1817; and died in St. Paul, December 17, 1902. He came to the United States in 1845, and six years later settled in St. Paul, where he engaged in wholesale mercantile business. He became a member of this society in 1856, and was elected to life membership in 1888.

HENRY LAWRENCE MOSS was born in Augusta, N. Y., March 23, 1819; and died at Lake Minnetonka, Minn., July 20, 1902. He was graduated at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., in 1840; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1843 at Columbus, Ohio; came to Stillwater, Minn., in 1848, and two years later settled in St. Paul. He aided in the organization of the Territory, and was United States district attorney here nine years. He became a life member of this Society in 1868, and was a member of its Executive Council many years.

PETER NEFF, elected as a corresponding member of this Society, February 8, 1897, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 13, 1827, and died in Cleveland, Ohio, May 12, 1903. He was graduated from Kenyon College in 1849; was a practical geologist, the first to utilize rock oil and natural gas in Ohio; and in his later years was librarian of the Western Reserve Historical Society, in Cleveland.

RENSSELAER RUSSELL NELSON was born in Cooperstown, N. Y., May 12, 1826; was graduated at Yale College in 1846; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1849. The following year he settled in St. Paul, and practiced law here for three years. He next spent a few years in Wisconsin, but returned to St. Paul in 1857, and was appointed territorial judge of Minnesota by President Buchanan. The next year he became United States district judge, and held this position continuously until his resignation in 1896, thirty-eight years. He became a life member of

this society January 15, 1856. He died in St. Paul, October 15, 1904.

Theodore Sutton Parvin, who was elected to corresponding membership in this Society August 12, 1867, and to honorary membership December 14, 1896, was born in Cedarville, N. J., January 15, 1817; and died June 28, 1901. He was graduated at Woodward College, Cincinnati, in 1836; he studied law; was private secretary of the first governor of Iowa Territory, Robert Lucas, in 1838, and was the first librarian of that territory. Later he was librarian and professor in the Iowa State University; was a founder of the Iowa State Historical Society in 1857, and for the years 1863-65 was its corresponding secretary and editor. He was the founder, in 1844, of the Iowa Masonic Library, and through his exertions this library has its present building at Cedar Rapids. From its foundation until his death, fifty-seven years, he was its librarian.

Frank Hutchinson Peavey was born in Eastport, Maine, January 18, 1850; and died in Chicago, December 30, 1901. He settled in Minneapolis in 1884, and developed a very extensive and successful grain and elevator business, which was supplemented, during the last three years of his life, by a line of steamships for freighting grain on the Great Lakes. He became a life member of this Society, September 10, 1900. He was widely known for his public spirit and many charities.

Emerson William Peet was born in Euclid (now a part of the city of Cleveland), Ohio, October 16, 1834. He attended Beloit College, Wis., of which his father was one of the founders, and was graduated at Amherst College in 1856. He was a teacher in Milwaukee and Oshkosh, Wis., and in 1860 removed to Texas and engaged in land surveying, and after 1864 in life insurance business. He settled in St. Paul in 1885, and was manager for the Mutual Life Insurance Company, and had other extensive business interests and investments. He became a member of this Society May 9, 1898. He died at his home in St. Paul, April 17, 1902.

John Sargent Pillsbury was born in Sutton, N. H., July 29, 1827; and died at his home in Minneapolis, October 18, 1901.

He came to Minnesota in 1855, settling at St. Anthony, now part of Minneapolis. He engaged in hardware business until 1875, and afterward established an immense flour-milling and lumbering business. He was a state senator eight years, and was governor of Minnesota, 1876-'82. He was one of the foremost citizens of this state, universally respected for his uprightness, generosity, and devotion to the public welfare. The University of Minnesota owes its prosperity very largely to his fostering care and wisdom. One of its chief buildings bears his name, and was his gift. He became a member of this Society February 8, 1897. (See a more extended biographic sketch, with portrait, in the preceding Volume IX, pages 359-361.)

Pennock Pusey was born in Wilmington, Delaware, September 6, 1825; and died in the same city, February 16, 1903. He came to St. Paul in 1854, and at first engaged in real estate business. From 1862 to 1872 he was assistant secretary of the State of Minnesota, and during the last three years of the same term he was commissioner of statistics. He was the first state insurance commissioner, 1872-73; and from 1874 to 1882 was the governor's private secretary, serving thus through the terms of Governors Davis and Pillsbury. After a residence of about thirty-five years in St. Paul, Mr. Pusey returned to Wilmington, Del., and there spent the remainder of his life in literary work and as editor of the Publications of the Delaware Historical Society. He was elected a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society, February 10, 1879.

Alexander Ramsey was born near Harrisburg, Pa., September 8, 1815; was Representative in Congress from that State, 1843-'47; was the first Governor of Minnesota Territory, 1849-'53; Governor of this State, 1860-'63; United States Senator from Minnesota, 1863-'75; and Secretary of War, 1879-'81. He was the first president of the Minnesota Historical Society, 1849-'63; and was again its president during twelve years, from 1891 until his death, which occurred at his home in St. Paul, April 22, 1903. (See the Memorial Addresses in the foregoing pages, 721-766; also a biographic sketch contributed by the Secretary of this Society in the State Legislative Manual for 1903, pages 651-653, with portrait.)

LATHROP EDWARD REED was born April 12, 1830, in Worthington, Mass.; and died April 5, 1901, on a railroad train while returning to St. Paul from Florida, where he had in vain sought for recovery of health. He first came to Minnesota when twenty-one years old, and for several summers was employed in farm work and in teaching school during the winters. In 1863 he was associated in the establishment of the First National Bank of St. Paul, and in 1873 became its vice president. He was president of the Capitol Bank from 1880 to 1890. During several years he was an alderman in this city. He became a life member of this Society in 1871.

DANIEL ROHRER was born in Little Rock, Ark., February 29, 1828; and died in Worthington, Minn., May 31, 1902. At the time of the Mexican war, and later, he was a soldier on the Indian frontier in Minnesota Territory. Afterward he resided in St. Paul, practicing law, and was city treasurer, 1854-'59. He again served in the civil war. In 1878 he removed from St. Paul to Worthington, where he was attorney for the Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern Railway. He became a life member of this Society January 15, 1856.

DWIGHT MAY SABIN was born in Manlius, Ill., April 25, 1843; and died in Chicago, December 23, 1902. He came to Minnesota in 1867, and the following year settled in Stillwater, where he engaged in the lumber business, and in the manufacture of machinery, engines, and cars. He was a state senator, 1871-'73, and a United States senator, 1883-'89. He was elected to life membership in this society in 1882.

JOHN BENJAMIN SANBORN was born in Epsom, N. H., December 5, 1826; and died at his home in St. Paul, May 16, 1904. He was a student at Dartmouth College; studied law in Concord, N. H.; came to St. Paul in 1854, and practiced law in this city continuously except when in public service. He was adjutant general of Minnesota in 1861; was colonel of the Fourth Minnesota Regiment in 1862; was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in 1863; and was breveted major general in 1865. During the years 1865-'66, as United States Commissioner, he made many important treaties with the Indians, and in 1867 was appointed by

Congress as a member of the Indian Peace Commission. He was a representative in the Legislature of Minnesota in 1859-'60 and 1872, and a state senator in 1861 and 1891-'93. He became a member of this Society in 1856; was a member of its Council since 1875; and was elected its president in May, 1903. (See the Memorial Addresses in the foregoing pages, 831-856.)

Frank Bailey Semple was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 24, 1851; and died in Camden, South Carolina, February 17, 1904. He came to Minnesota in 1884 and settled in Minneapolis, where he engaged in hardware business. He was prominently identified with the commercial interests of that city during twenty years. He was elected to life membership in this Society September 10, 1900.

John B. Spencer was born in Kentucky in 1821; learned the trade of a carpenter, and settled in St. Paul in 1849. He engaged in steamboating in 1856. He lived in Montana from 1862 to 1865. Returning to St. Paul, he invested largely in real estate, and built many houses in this city. In 1869-'72 he resided in Duluth, and built the great breakwater and dock there. About 1892 he removed to Alameda, California, where he died, July 30, 1904. He became a life member of this Society in 1868.

Benjamin Franklin Stevens was born in Barnet, Vt., February 19, 1833; and died in London, England, March 5, 1902. He entered the University of Vermont in 1853, but did not finish the course on account of poor health. In 1860 he went to London, and established the American Library and Literary Agency, which he continued to the time of his death. He edited and published an important historical work on the American Revolution, entitled "The Campaign in Virginia in 1781," two volumes, London, 1888; and a few years later he published an extensive collection of facsimiles of British manuscripts relating to American history during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. He was elected an honorary member of this Society February 8, 1897.

Hiram Fairchild Stevens was born in St. Albans, Vt., September 11, 1852; and died in St. Paul, March 9, 1904. He was graduated at the University of Vermont in 1872, and at the

Columbia Law School in 1874. He came to Minnesota in 1879, settling in St. Paul, where he practiced law for twenty-five years. He was a representative in the state legislature in 1889, and a state senator from 1891 to 1897. In 1901 he became the chairman of the State Commission for the Revision of the Statutes of Minnesota. Mr. Stevens was elected a life member of this Society October 13, 1890, and was one of its Executive Council after January 8, 1900.

JOHN SUMMERS was born in Scotland in 1830; came to the United States in 1852, and settled in St. Paul in 1856, where he resided until his death, March 18, 1903. He was a building contractor, and erected many business blocks in this city, and also the Windsor Hotel, which he owned and managed for two years. He became a life member of this Society December 11, 1882.

ROBERT ORMSBY SWEENY was born in Philadelphia in 1831; and died in Duluth, September 6, 1902. He came to St. Paul in 1852; was a druggist there many years; and was the first Fish Commissioner of this state. He removed to Duluth about 1895, and for some time was in charge of the United States fish hatchery there. He designed the great seal of the State of Minnesota in 1858. He was elected to life membership in this Society, March 13, 1871; and was a member of its Executive Council thirty-three years, from 1867 to 1900.

JOSEPH FARRAND TUTTLE, a corresponding member of this Society since 1867, was born in Bloomfield, N. J., March 12, 1818; and died June 8, 1901. He was graduated at Marietta College, Ohio, in 1841, and at Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, in 1844. He was a pastor in Ohio and New Jersey during eighteen years, and was president of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1862-'92. He was author of several books, one being the "Annals of Morris County, N. J.," and of miscellaneous papers, including several published in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society.

HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE, Bishop of Minnesota, was born in Adams, N. Y., February 15, 1822; and died in Faribault, Minn., September 16, 1901. He was educated in New York, and

was there ordained a clergyman in the Episcopal Church. He was rector in Rome, N. Y., and in Chicago prior to 1859, when he was consecrated the first bishop of Minnesota. He greatly promoted the growth of the church in this state; and his work for missions to the Indians and for the church schools at Faribault was especially noteworthy. He became an honorary member of this Society, August 12, 1867. (See the Memorial Addresses in the foregoing pages, 689-720.)

Eli Trumbull Wilder was born in Hartford county, Conn., November 27, 1813. He went to Ohio when only a year old; was educated as a lawyer, and became judge of the court of common pleas in that state. In 1855 he removed to Red Wing, Minn., and practiced law there until his death, June 3, 1904. Judge Wilder was elected to membership in this Society September 10, 1900. He was one of the most prominent laymen in the Episcopal Church in this state.

Henry L. Williams was born in Farmington, Maine, in 1837, and was educated at Farmington Acaademy and at Bowdoin College. At the age of seventeen he came to St. Paul, where he engaged in real estate business for a few years and studied law. In 1862 he was admitted to the bar, and was a prominent lawyer here, until his removal to California about 1894. He died in Los Angeles, June 7, 1904. He was elected a life member of this Society, December 11, 1893.

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF VOLUMES I—X.

A more complete index is given in each of the separate volumes. Therefore, when the citations are only by the volume, its index will give the pages.

References to pages of Volume I, as first printed with consecutive paging in 1872, are followed by the corresponding pages (in parentheses) of this volume as reprinted in 1902.

For all references to persons, excepting authors, see the next index.

Adams, Mrs. Ann, Early Days at Red River Settlement, and Fort Snelling, VI, 75-116.

Adams, Rev. Moses N., The Sioux Outbreak in the Year 1862, with Notes of Missionary Work among the Sioux, IX, 431-452.

Aiton, J. F., Stone Heaps at Red Wing, I, 147-148 (115-117).

Albright, Gov. Samuel J., The First Organized Government of Dakota, VIII, 134-147.

Algonkian rocks of Minnesota, VIII, 299.

Algonquin Indians, I; III, 171; VI, 119; IX; language, IX, 128.

Algonquin, proposed as a name for Minnesota Territory, I, 482 (394).

American Board of Missions, VI; IX.

American Fur Company, I; II; III; VI; IX.

American Missionary Association, VI.

Ancient Mounds and Monuments, I, 144-152 (113-120).

Anniversary, Fiftieth, of Minnesota Historical Society, IX.

Annuities, of Indians, IX.

Armor Feast, among the Dakotas, II, 241.

Asiatic Origin of American Indians, IX, 108.

Assiniboine Indians, I; II; VIII; X.

Avery, Benjamin P., Death of a Remarkable Man, Gabriel Franchere, VI, 417-420.

Ayers, Mrs. Elizabeth T., First Settlement on Red River of the North, 1812, VI, 421-428.

Baker, D. A. J., Early Schools of Minnesota, I, 81-83 (59-61).

Baker, Hon. James H., Lake Superior, III, 333-355; The Sources of the Mississippi: Their Discoveries, Real and Pretended, VI, 3-28; History of Transportation in Minnesota, IX, 1-34; A Memorial Eulogy on Alexander Ramsey, X, 723-743; Governor Ramsey, Memorial Address, X, 762-765.

Bald Island, II; X.
Banking in Minnesota, IX, 593.
Bar, Bench and, in Minnesota, I; VIII, 89-101.
Barn Bluff, II.
Battle of Lake Pokeguma, I, 177-182 (141-145).
Battle of Wood Lake, III, 101.
Beavers, I; II, 203.
Belcourt, Rev. G. A., Department of Hudson's Bay, I, 207-244 (166-196).
Bell, Captain Edwin, Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, X, 91-100.
Belle Prairie, I; Mission, VI.
Big Stone Lake, I; II; III; VI; VIII.
Biographies of old settlers, IX, 143-162; of St. Croix Lumbermen, IX, 291-324; of Lumbermen on the Mississippi and its Tributaries, IX, 353-362; of deceased members, VIII, IX, X. (Also see next index.
Birch Coulie, VI; battle, IX.
Bishop, Gen. Judson W., History of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, 1864-1881, X, 399-415.
Bison, or Buffalo, I; II; III; VIII; IX; X.
Black Hawk War, I; II, 125.
Blakeley, Captain Russell, Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization, VIII, 45-66; History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota, VIII, 303-418.
Bliss, Col. John H., Reminiscences of Fort Snelling, VI, 335-353.
Blue Earth, Presbytery, VI, 173.
Blue Earth River, I; II; III; X.
Boulders worshiped by Dakotas, II, 231.
Boundaries of Minnesota, I; changes, III, 265; northern, VIII; east, south, and west, X, 677-687.
Boundary of Minnesota between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods, VIII, 1-10.
Boutwell, Rev. W. T., Schoolcraft's Exploring Tour of 1832, I, 153-176 (121-140).
Bromley, Edward A., The Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, X, 635-643.
Brower, Hon. J. V., The Mississippi River and its Source, forming Vol. VII, pages xv, 360; Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River, VIII, 232-269; Obituary of Alfred J. Hill, VIII, 514-517.
Brown, Samuel J., Biographic Sketch of Gabriel Renville, X.
Buell, Major Salmon A., Judge Flandrau in the Defense of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862; X, 783-818.
Buffaloes, I; II; III; VIII; IX; X.
Building Stones of Minnesota, VIII, 295-301.

Camp Coldwater, I; III, 177.
Camp Release, II, 255; III, 126; VI; IX.

Cannon River, I; II; III.
Canoes, Indian, II, 210; VIII; transportation, IX.
Captivity among Indians, III; IX.
Carey, Hon. John R., History of Duluth, and of St. Louis County, to the Year 1870, IX, 241-278.
Carver's Cave, I, VI, 229.
Carver Centenary Celebration, II, 257-284.
Cass Lake, I; VIII, 258; IX, 220.
Catholic Missions, VI; Catholic Church, beginnings, X.
Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Minnesota Historical Society, IX, 549-636.
Chaney, J. B., The Historical Value of Newspapers, VIII, 111-119.
Chapel of St. Paul, II, 142; X, 233-245.
Chequamegon Bay, I; II; X.
Cheyennes, Indian Tribe, III.
Childs, Hon. H. W., Columbian Address, VI, 321-334; The Life and Work of General Sanborn, X, 838-856.
Chippewas; See *Ojibways*.
Chippewa, proposed as a name for Minnesota, I, 482 (394).
Chippewa river, Wisconsin, I; II; III, 130; VI; X.
Choctaws, Indian tribe, I.
Christinaux, Indian Tribe, I; VIII; X.
Clark, Hon. Greenleaf, Bishop Whipple as a Citizen of Minnesota, X, 708-712; The Life and Influence of Judge Flandrau, X, 771-782; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 745; Resolutions in Regard to a Statue of Governor Ramsey, X, 747; Memorial Address in honor of General Sanborn, X, 833-837.
Clough, Col. William P., Work of the Minnesota Historical Society through Fifty Years in Preserving Minnesota History, and its Duty to the Future, IX, 627-636.
Coal in Minnesota, VIII.
Columbia Fur Company, I; II; VI.
Constitutional Convention, 1857; III; VIII, 168; IX, 174.
Copper Mines in Minnesota, I; on Lake Superior, III, 340; VIII.
Coronado's Expedition, VIII.
Coureurs des bois, I; III; VIII; IX.
Courts, Early, of Minnesota, I, 77-80 (55-58); III, 267; VIII, 89-101.
Crees, Indian Tribe, I; X.
Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, X, 445-448.
Crow, Indian Tribe, I.
Crow Wing, VIII, 56; lakes, VIII, 261.

Dakota Territory, First Organized Government, VIII, 129-147.
Dakotas, Language, I, 89-107 (67-82); Their Land and Life, I, 254-294 (205-240); I, 295-301 (241-246); Lynd's History. II, 143-149; Superstitions, II, 215-255; the Mission, III, 115-128; of the Missouri River, III, 283-294; probable European Origin, III, 384; Captivity in Out-

break of 1862; VI, 354-380; Story of the War of 1862, VI, 382-400; Scalp Dances, VI, 409; Traditions, VI, 413-416; Captivity of Nancy McClure, VI, 438-460; Captivity of Mary Schwandt, VI, 461-474; Sully's Expedition, 1864, VIII, 449-462; Captivity of Mrs. N. D. White, August 18 to September 26, 1862, IX, 395-426; Narration of a Friendly Sioux, IX, 427-430; Outbreak in 1862, with Notes of Missionary Work, IX, 431-452; their history, X.

Dances, Indian, I; II; VI; VIII; IX; X.

Davis, Hon. C. K., Eulogy on Hon. Willis A. Gorman, III, 328-332; Progress of the United States during the Half Century, IX, 617-622.

Davis, Samuel M., Hennepin as Discoverer and Author, IX, 223-240; The Dual Origin of Minnesota, IX, 519-548.

DeCamp, Mrs. J. E., Captivity in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, VI, 354-380.

Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, D.D., X, 179-202.

Discovery of the Upper Mississippi, IX; X.

Dougan, Edward C., Obituary sketch of Charles E. Mayo, IX, 659-664.

Dual Origin of Minnesota, IX, 519-548.

Duluth, History to the year 1870, IX, 241-278.

Duluth and Iron Range Railroad, VIII.

Durant, Captain Edward W., Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River, X, 645-675.

Early Days at Fort Snelling, I, 420-438 (345-359).

Early Days at Red River Settlement and Fort Snelling, VI, 75-116.

Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, X, 91-100.

Eckstein, Hon. Joseph A., Address in honor of Judge Flandrau, X, 829-830.

Education, Reports of U. S. Commissioner of, VIII, 126.

Education, during past fifty years, IX, 602-616; in Minnesota, X, 353-398.

Elfelt, Charles D., Early Trade and Traders in St. Paul, IX, 163-166.

Elk Lake, Minn., I; II, 186; VII; VIII.

Embarras River; see *Zumbro.*

Episcopal Churches and Missions in Minnesota, Early, X, 203-231.

Explorations, Tour of, 1832, by Schoolcraft, I, 153-176 (121-140); Upper Mississippi River, by Louis Hennepin, I, 302-313 (247-256); Du Luth at Mille Lacs and Lake Superior, I, 314-318 (257-260); Le Sueur on the Minnesota River, I, 319-338 (261-277); III, 1-12; by Capt. Jonathan Carver, I, 349-367 (286-301), IV, 26-37; by Pike in 1805-6, I, 368-416 (302-342); of Lake Itasca, I, 417-419 (343-344), VII; of the Mississippi River, VII; VIII, 303-418, X, 538-561; by Groseilliers and Radison, VII, 47-57, VIII, 306-362, X, 449-594.

Fairchild, Henry S., Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul, X, 417-443; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 758-760.

Falls of St. Anthony, I; VII; X.

Falls of St. Anthony, voyage by Major Stephen H. Long in 1817, II, 9-83; III; VI; first mills, X, 635-643.
First Mills in Minnesota, X, 635-643.
First Railroad in Minnesota, X, 445-448.
First White Men in Minnesota, X, 449-594.
Five Million Loan, III, 324; IX; X.
Flandrau, Hon. Charles E., The Inkpaduta Massacre of 1857, III, 386-407; Lawyers and Courts of Minnesota prior to and during its Territorial Period, VIII, 89-101; The First Organized Government of Dakota, VIII, 129-132; State Building in the West, VIII, 463-494; Reminiscences of Minnesota during the Territorial Period, IX, 197-222; Progress of Minnesota during the Half Century, IX, 587-596; The work of Bishop Whipple in Missions for the Indians, X, 691-696.
Flour Manufacture in Minnesota, History of, X, 35-55.
Folsom, William H. C., History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley, with Biographic Sketches, IX, 291-324.
Forbes, Rev. Robert, Invocation, Fiftieth Anniversary, IX, 551-553.
Forbes, Major William H., Traditions of Sioux Indians, VI, 413-416.
Forest Fires, VIII, 7; IX.
Forsyth, Major Thomas, Fort Snelling, Col. Leavenworth's Expedition in 1819, III, 139-167.
Fort Crawford, Wis., I; II; VI.
Fort L'Huillier, built by Le Sueur, I; II, 96, III, 1-12.
Fort Ridgely, II; VI; VIII; IX; X.
Fort Ripley, I; II, 89; VI; IX; History of, X, 179-202.
Fort Saint Anthony, II.
Fort Snelling, Early Days, I, 420-438 (345-359); from 1819 to 1840, II, 102-142; a Reminiscence, III, 76-81; a Coincidence, III, 103-107; Col. Leavenworth's Expedition in 1819, III, 139-167; Reminiscences, 1820-1826, VI, 75-116; VI, 335-353; History, VIII, 427-448; IX; X.
Fountain Cave, II; III.
Fox Indians, I; II; III; X.
Fox and Ojibwa War, I, 345-348 (283-285).
Franklin, State of, VIII, 133.
French Forts, early, II, 89-101.
French Voyageurs, I, 17-36 (1-18).
Fullerton, Rev. T. M., St. Louis River, I, 139-143 (109-112).
Fur Trade, I; II; III; VIII; IX; X.

Geography of Minnesota, I, 108-132 (83-102); of Perrot, II, 200-214.
Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, VI, 3, 12; VIII.
Geology of the Mississippi river, I; of the St. Louis river, I.
Gilbert, Bishop M. N., Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota, and the Early Missions of Park Place, St. Paul, IX, 181-196.
Gilfillan, Hon. Charles D., The Early Political History of Minnesota, IX, 167--180.
Gilfillan, Rev. Joseph A., The Ojibways in Minnesota, IX, 55-128.

Goodrich, Hon. Aaron, Early Courts of Minnesota, I, 77-80 (55-58).
Goodrich, Earle S., Memoir of Joseph R. Brown, III, 204-208; Memoir of Rev. S. Y. McMasters, III, 295-303.
Government Wagon Road, VI, 6.
Grand Portage, I; II, 185.
Grant, Dr. Ulysses Sherman, The International Boundary between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods, VIII, 1-10.
Grasshoppers, VIII; IX; X.
Great Northern Railway, VIII.
Great Spirit, II; VI, 413.
Green Bay, Wis., I; II; III; X.
Grey Cloud Island, I; II, 137; III; X.
Groseilliers and Radisson, X, 449-594.
Gull Lake, Episcopal Mission, VI; IX, 194; X.

Hamline University, III.
Hancock, Rev. Joseph W., Missionary Work at Red Wing, X, 165-178.
Hayes, Simeon Mills, Sketch of Moses Sherburne, X, 863-866.
Hazelwood Mission, VI, 172.
Hennepin Bi-Centenary, July 3, 1880, VI, 29-74.
Hill, Alfred J., Constantine Beltrami, II, 183-196; The Geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota, II, 200-214; Indian Mounds in Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin, VI, 311-319; How the Missisippi River and the Lake of the Woods became instrumental in the Establishment of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, VII, 305-352.
Hill, James J., History of Agriculture in Minnesota, VIII, 275-290.
Hinckley sandstone quarries, VIII.
Historical Research, I, 43-52 (25-32).
Hobart, Rev. Chauncey, Religious Movements in Minnesota, I, 84-88 (62-66).
Hoxie, Mrs. Vinnie Ream, Memorial Tribute in honor of Governor Ramsey; X, 761.
Hubbard, Gov. Lucius F., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 748-750.
Hudson Bay, department of, I, 207-244 (166-196); Region, I; Company, I; III; VI; VIII; IX; X.
Hughes, Thomas, The Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, under Gov. Alexander Ramsey, with Notes of the Former Treaty there, in 1841, under Gov. James D. Doty, of Wisconsin, X, 101-128; History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River, X, 131-163.
Huron, Indian nation, I; II; VIII; X.
Hutchinson, Sketches of the History of, X, 69-89.

Ice-sheet of North America, VIII, 13.
Illinois Indians, I; II, 201; X.
Indian traders, I; II; VIII; IX; X.

Indian Warfare in Minnesota, III, 129-138; Inkpaduta Massacre of 1857, III, 386-407; Mounds, VI, 311-319; Sioux war of 1862, VI, 382-400; Threatened Outbreak of Hole-in-the-Day, VI, 401-408.
Inkpaduta Massacre of 1857, III, 386-407; VI, 173; VIII.
International Boundary between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods, VIII, 1-10.
Interstate Park, IX, 314.
Iowa, Indian tribe, I; III; X.
Ireland, Archbishop John, Memoir of Rev. Lucian Galtier, III, 222-230; Letter to John Mattocks, Esq., of Chicago, III, 312; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 754.
Iron mining companies, VIII.
Iroquois, Indian nation, I; III; VIII; X.
Isanti, Indian tribe, I; III; X.
Isle Pelée or Bald Island, III; X.
Itasca Lake, by whom discovered, I, 417-419 (343-344); proposed as a name for Minnesota Territory, I, 482 (394); II, 186; III; VI, 3, 121; VII; VIII; IX.

Jesuit Missionaries, I; II, 99; III; VII.
Johnson, Gen. Richard W., Fort Snelling from its Foundation to the Present time, VIII, 427-448.
Johnston, Daniel S. B., Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period, X, 247-351.
Jordan sandstone quarries, VIII.
Journalism in the Territorial Period, X, 247-351.

Kaposia, Village and Band, I; II; III; VI; IX.
Kasota quarries, VIII, 297; IX, 439.
Kelley, William H., Reminiscences of Persons and Events in the Early Days of the Minnesota Historical Society, VIII, 419-426.
Kickapoos, Indian tribe. I; II, 90.
Kiehle, Prof. David L., The History of Education in Minnesota, X, 353-398.
Kilpatrick, Mrs. Andrew E., Sketch of William Holcombe, X, 857-861.
Kingsbury, David L., The United States Government Publications, VIII, 120-128; Sully's Expedition Against the Sioux, in 1864, VIII, 449-462.
Kinnikinnick, IX, 408.

Lac de Pleurs (Pepin), why so called, I.
Lac qui Parle, I; II; III; VI; IX.
Lake Condé (Superior), I.
Lake Itasca, III; VII.
Lake of the Woods, I; II, 213; III; VIII; IX; X.
Lake Pepin, I; II; III; VII; X.
Lake Pokeguma, Battle, I, 177-182 (141-145).

Lake Superior, Mining Regions, II, 176-182; Its history, etc., III, 333-355; VI; IX; X.
Lamphere, George N., History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley, X, 1-33.
Land Surveys in Minnesota west of the Mississippi River, X, 57-67.
Langford, Nathaniel Pitt, The Louisiana Purchase and Preceding Spanish Intrigues for Dismemberment of the Union, IX, 453-508; Library, Museum, and Portrait Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society, IX, 569-575.
Larpenteur, August L., Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1898, IX, 363-394; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 760.
Lawyers and Courts of Minnesota, early, VIII, 89-101.
Leaf river, I.
Le Duc, Gen. William G., Organization and Growth of the Minnesota Historical Society, IX, 559-568.
Leech lake, II; VI; VIII; IX; X.
Legacies of the Ordinance of 1787, IX, 509-518.
Levasseur, Prof. E., The Question of the Sources of the Mississippi River, VIII, 213-225.
Library of the Minnesota Historical Society, VIII; IX.
Lightner, William H., Obituary of Elias Franklin Drake, IX, 637-653; Judge Flandrau as a Citizen and Jurist, X, 819-828.
Lignite in Minnesota, VIII, IX, 289.
Limestone quarrying in Minnesota, VIII, 296.
Lind, Hon. John, Greeting, Fiftieth Anniversary, IX, 553-555.
Long, Major Stephen H., Voyage in a Six-oared Skiff to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1817, II, 9-83.
Long lake, VIII.
Long Prairie, VIII.
Louisiana Purchase, VIII; IX.
Louisiana Purchase and Preceding Spanish Intrigues, IX, 453-508.
Lover's Leap or Maiden Rock, II, 24.
Lower Sioux Agency, II, 143; III; VI; IX; X.
Lumbering camps, IX.
Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River, X, 645-675.
Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley, IX, 291-324; on the Upper Mississippi and its Tributaries, IX, 325-362.
Lumbermen, Pioneer, of Minnesota, III, 210; IX; X.
Lynd, Hon. James W., Religion of the Dakotas, II, 150-174.

Macalester college, VIII, 499.
Mackinaw boats, II.
McClure, Mrs. Nancy, Captivity among the Sioux, VI, 438-460.
McGill, Gov. Andrew R., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 750-753.

McNulty, Rev. Ambrose, The Chapel of St. Paul, and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota, X, 233-245.
Maiden Feast of Sioux, IX, 218.
Maiden Rock, II, 24; VI, 339.
Mandans, Indian tribe, I; II, 146; III.
Marine Mills, Minn., I; II, 198; X.
Marshall, Gov. William R., Obituary of Henry Mower Rice, IX, 654-658.
Marvin, Richard, Obituary of Rev. John G. Riheldaffer, VIII, 510-514.
Mason, Gen. Edwin C., How We Won the San Juan Archipelago, IX, 35-54.
Mather, Prof. W. W., Letter, I, 133-134 (103-104).
Mattocks, Rev. John, The Life and Exploration of Jonathan Carver, II, 266-284.
Mayo, Charles E., Homes and Habitations of the Minnesota Historical Society, VIII, 102-110.
Mde-wakan-ton-wan, tribe of Dakota Indians, I; II, 124; III; X.
Medicine Dance, I; II; VI, 415.
Medicine Men, I; II; IX.
Memorial Addresses, in honor of Bishop Whipple, X, 689-720; Governor Alexander Ramsey, X, 721-766; Judge Charles E. Flandrau, X, 767-830; Gen. John B. Sanborn, X, 831-856.
Mendota (St. Peter's), I; II; III; VI; IX; X.
Menominee, Indian tribe, I.
Mesabi Iron Range, VIII.
Metcalf, Dr. George R., Obituary of Charles K. Smith, VIII, 495-497.
Miamis, Indian tribe, I; II.
Mille Lacs, I; VII; IX; X.
Mineral Regions of Lake Superior, II, 176-182.
Mines, Ancient, of Lake Superior, III, 334.
Minnehaha Falls, II, 220; III, 133; VI, 339.
Minnesota, French Voyageurs, I, 17-36 (1-18); Description, I, 37-42 (19-24); Organization of the Territory, I, 53-68 (33-46); Early Courts, I, 77-80 (55-58); Early Schools; I, 81-83 (59-61); Religious Movements, I, 84-88 (62-66); History and Physical Geography, I, 108-132 (83-102); Early Days, III, 242-277; Boundary between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods, VIII, 1-10; Discovery and Development of Iron Ores, VIII, 25-40; Early Days of the Territory, VIII, 67-88; Lawyers and Courts prior to and during the Territorial Period, VIII, 89-101; Admission to the Union, VIII, 148-184; Northern Boundary, VIII, 185-212; History of Mining and Quarrying, VIII, 291-302; History of Transportation, IX, 1-34; Early Political History, IX, 167-180; Beginnings of the Episcopal Church, IX, 181-196; Reminiscences of the Territorial Period, IX, 197-222; Dual Origin, IX, 519-548; Progress during the Half Century, IX, 587-596; Education during past Fifty Years, IX, 602-616; in the National Congress during Fifty years, IX, 623-626; Boundary on east, south, and west, X, 677-687.

Minnesota Historical Society, Library, III, 13; Homes and Habitations, VIII, 102-110; Charter Members, and its work in 1896, VIII, 271-274; Reminiscences of Early Days, VIII, 419-426; Celebration of its Fiftieth Anniversary, IX, 549-636; Work during Fifty years, and its Duty to the Future, IX, 627-636.
Minnesota River, I; II; III; Early steamboating, X, 91-100, 131-163.
Missionary Work at Red Wing, 1849 to 1852, X, 165-178.
Missions, Indian, I, 84 (62); Methodist, I, 85 (63); Oberlin, I, 85 (63); Swiss, I, 86 (64); Baptist, I, 87 (65); Presbyterian, I, 87 (65); Congregational, I, 87 (65); Episcopal, I, 88 (65); Protestant in the Northwest, VI, 117-188; of Park Place, St. Paul, IX, 181-196; Sioux Outbreak in 1862, with Notes of Missionary Work, IX, 431-452; Early Episcopal, X, 203-231.
Mississippi River, III; Sources, VI, 1-28, VII; VIII, 213-225, 226-231; Prehistoric Man at its Headwaters, VIII, 232-269; Discovery of, VIII, 303-418, IX, X, 538-561.
Mississippi River and its Source, forming Volume VII, 360 pages.
Mississippi Valley, VI; VII; VIII; X.
Mitchell, Rev. Edward C., Obituary of Gov. William R. Marshall, VIII, 506-510.
Moran, Prof. Thomas F., How Minnesota Became a State, VIII, 148-184.
Morrison, William, Who Discovered Itasca Lake? I, 417-419 (343-344).
Moss, Hon. Henry L., Last Days of Wisconsin Territory and Early Days of Minnesota Territory, VIII, 67-88; Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, IX, 143-162.
Mound Builders, III, IX.
Mounds, aboriginal, I, 144-152 (113-120); in Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, VI, 311-319; on the upper Mississippi, VIII, 232-269.
Museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, IX, 572.

Nadoneceronons, or Nadouessioux, Indians, VIII; X. See *Dakotas.*
Neill, Rev. Edward D., The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century, I, 17-36 (1-18); Letter of Mesnard, I, 135-138 (105-108); Battle of Lake Pokeguma, I, 177-182 (141-145); A Sketch of Joseph Renville, I, 196-206 (157-165); Obituary of James M. Goodhue, I, 245-253 (197-204); Dakota Land and Dakota Life, I, 254-294 (205-240); Early French Forts and Footprints of the Valley of the Upper Mississippi, II, 89-101; Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840, II, 102-142; History of the Ojibways, and their Connection with Fur Traders, based upon Official and Other Records, V, 395-510.
Newspapers, Historical Value, VIII, 111-119; department of Minn. Historical Society, VIII, 42, 113; IX; first in Duluth, IX; history of Journalism in the Territorial Period, X, 247-351.
New Ulm, Minn., II, 272; III; VI; VIII; IX; X, 783-818, 829.
Northern Pacific Railroad, VIII; IX.

Northrop, President Cyrus, Education in the United States and in Minnesota during the Past Fifty Years, IX, 602-616.
Northwest Fur Company, III; VI; IX.
Northwest Territory, IX.

Obituaries of Deceased Members, 1889-1898, VIII, 495-533; 1898-1901, IX, 637-680; 1901-1904, X, 867-876.
Ojibways, History of, forming Volume V, 535 pages; Threatened Outbreak of Hole-in-the-Day, VI, 401-408; VIII; in Minnesota, IX, 55-128; Civilization and Christianization, IX, 129-142; X, 528, etc.
Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, X, 635-643.
Old Settlers, Biographic Notes, IX; Association, IX.
Ordinance of 1787; VIII; IX.
Organization of Minnesota Territory, I, 53-68 (33-46).
Osages, Indian tribe, I.
Ottawas, Indian tribe, I, VIII; X, 526, etc.
Outagamies, Indian tribe; see *Fox Indians.*
Outbreak in 1862, A Sioux Narrative, X, 595-618.

Pacific Fur Company, IX, 503.
Pembina river. I: mountain, I; VIII, 56; IX, 185.
Pemican, IX, 385.
Pendergast, Hon. W. W., Sketches of the History of Hutchinson, X, 69-89.
Pension List of the United States in 1813, VI, 502-539.
Phalen lake, origin of name, VIII, 91.
Physical Geography of Minnesota, I, 108-132 (83-102).
Pictured Rocks, Lake Superior, VIII; X.
Pierce, Hon. James Oscar, Some Legacies of the Ordinance of 1787, IX, 509-518.
Pigeon river, Minn., I; II, 177; III; VIII; X.
Pike, Explorations in Minnesota, I, 368-416 (302-342); Island, II, 103; III, 176; VI.
Pillager Indians; see *Ojibways.*
Pillsbury, Hon. John S., Opening Address, Fiftieth Anniversary, IX, 597-601.
Pilots of upper Mississippi river, VIII, 412; of St. Croix river, X, 666.
Pineries, VIII; on Rum river, IX, 329-333; on St. Croix river, X, 855-889.
Pipestone quarry, I; II, 145.
Pokeguma, Battle of, I; Lake, I, IX; Falls, I; III, 134; VI.
Pond, Rev. G. H., Iowa Indians and Mounds, I, 144-146 (113-115); Dakota Superstitions, II, 215-255; Indian Warfare in Minnesota, III, 129-138.
Pope, Rev. William C., The Work of Bishop Whipple for the Episcopal Church, X, 716-720.
Portrait Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society, VIII, 273; IX, 569-575.

Pottawattomies, Indian tribe, III; VIII, 312; X.
Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River, VIII, 232-263.
Prescott, Philander, Autobiography and Reminiscences, VI, 475-491.

Quarrying in Minnesota, History of, VIII, 291-302.

Railroads, Companies in Minnesota, IX; History of the St. Paul and Sioux City, X, 399-415; First in Minnesota, X, 445-448.
Rainy lake and river, VIII; X.
Ramsey, Gov. Alexander, Our Field of Historical Research, I, 43-52 (25-32); The Origin and Growth of the Minnesota Historical Society, VIII, 41-44; Charter Members of the Minnesota Historical Society, and its Work in 1896, VIII, 271-274; Response, Fiftieth Anniversary, IX, 555-558; Memorial Addresses in honor of, X, 721-766.
Ramsey County, III; History of, forming Volume IV, 475 pages; VI.
Real Estate in St. Paul, History of, X, 417-443.
Red River of the North, III; First Settlement, 1812, VI, 421-428; Opening to Commerce, and Civilization, VIII, 45-66; IX; Early steamboating, X, 91-100.
Red River Valley, Settlement and Development, VIII, 11-24.
Redwood County, Early Settlement and History, IX, 279-290.
Religions of the Dakotas, II, 218-255; III, 380.
Religious Movements in Minnesota, I, 84-88 (62-66); Episcopal Church, IX, 181-196; Catholic Church, X, 233-245.
Renville, Gabriel, A Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863, X, 595-618.
Revolutionary Pension Roll, VI, 502-539.
Rice, Hon. Henry M., Mineral Regions of Lake Superior, as known from their first discovery to 1865, II, 176-182; Historical Notes on the United States Land Office, II, 197-199.
Riggs, Rev. S. R., The Dakota Language, I, 89-107 (67-82); Mounds of Minnesota Valley, I, 149-152 (117-120); History of the Dakotas, James W. Lynd's Manuscripts, II, 143-149; Memoir of Hon. James W. Lynd, III, 107-114; The Dakota Mission, III, 115-128; Memorial of Rev. Gideon H. Pond, III, 358-364; Memorial of Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, III, 372-373; Protestant Missions in the Northwest, VI, 117-187.
Rogers, Col. George D., History of Flour Manufacturing in Minnesota, X, 35-55.
Rum River, Battle of, II, 248; Portage, II, 139; III; VI, 43.
Running the Gauntlet, I, 457-485 (374-396).

Sacs and Foxes, Tribe of, I; III.
Saint Anthony falls, I; II; III; VI, 29; VIII; IX; X.
Saint Croix river, III; Lumbering and Steamboating, X, 645-675.

Saint Croix Valley, History of Lumbering and Biographic Sketches, IX, 291-324; X, 645-675.
Saint Louis river, I, 139-143 (109-112); County, History to 1870, IX, 241-278.
Saint Paul, III; History, forming Volume IV, 475 pages; VI; Early Trade and Traders, IX, 163-166; Recollections of the City and People, IX, 363-394; First Chapel in, X, 233-245.
Saint Paul and Sioux City Railroad, 1864-1881, X, 399-415.
Sanborn, Gen. John B., Tribute to the Memory of Rev. John Mattocks, III, 310-312; Minnesota in the National Congress during Fifty Years, IX, 623-626; The work of the Second State Legislature, 1859-60, X, 619-633; Bishop Whipple as a Mediator for the Rights of the Indians in Treaties, X, 713-715; Address in honor of Judge Flandrau, X, 769-770; Memorial Addresses, X, 831-856.
Sandstone quarries in Minnesota, VIII.
San Juan Archipelago and International Boundary, IX, 35-54. 108-132 (83-102).
Schoolcraft, Henry R., History and Physical Geography of Minnesota, I,
Schoolcraft's Exploring Tour of 1832, I, 153-176 (121-140).
Schools, early, of Minnesota, I, 81-83; (59-61); Earliest in Minnesota Valley, VI, 410-412; History of Education in Minnesota, X, 353-398.
Schwandt, Mary, Captivity among the Sioux, VI, 461-474.
Second State Legislature, Work of, X, 619-633.
Selkirk Settlement, I; II; VIII, 18.
Semi-Centennial Celebration, Minnesota Historical Society, IX, 549-636.
Sibley, Hon. Henry H., Description of Minnesota, I, 37-42 (19-24); Speech before the Committee on Elections of the House of Representatives, I, 69-76 (47-54); Memoir of J. N. Nicollet, I, 183-195 (146-156); Reminiscences, Historical and Personal, I, 457-485 (374-396); Sketch of John Other Day, III, 99-102; Memoir of Jean Baptiste Faribault, III, 168-179; Memoir of Hercules L. Dousman, III, 192-200; Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota, III, 242-288; Tribute to the Memory of Rev. John Mattocks, III, 307-310; Memorial of Rev. Gideon H. Pond, III, 364-366.
Simpson, Hon. Thomas, Early Government Land Surveys in Minnesota west of the Mississippi River, X, 57-67.
Sioux; see *Dakotas.*
Sioux Story of the War, VI, 382-400; X, 595-618.
Sioux War, II; III; VI; VIII; IX; X.
Sisseton, Indian tribe, I; II; III.
Snana, Narration of a Friendly Sioux, IX, 427-430.
Snelling, William J., Running the Gauntlet, I, 439-456 (360-373).
Snowshoes, III, X.
Soldiers' Lodge, III, 251; VI, 175; X.
Stage companies and routes, VIII.
Stanchfield, Daniel, History of Pioneer Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi and its Tributaries, with Biographic Sketches, IX, 325-362.

State-building in the West, VIII, 463-494.
State University of Minnesota, III, VI, IX, X.
Steamboating on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, Red river, St. Croix, and Lake Superior, VIII, IX, X.
Stevens, Hon. F. C., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 755-758.
Stevens, Col. John H., Recollections of James M. Goodhue, VI, 492-502.
Stone Heaps at Red Wing, I, 147 (115).
Stone Quarries of Minnesota, VIII, 295-302.
Sweet, George W., Incidents of the Threatened Outbreak of Hole-in-the-Day and other Ojibways, at the time of the Sioux massacre of 1862, VI, 401-408.
Swiss Mission among the Dakotas, VI, 134.

Taliaferro, Major Lawrence, Autobiography, VI, 189-256.
Tanner, Rev. George C., History of Fort Ripley from 1849 to 1859, based on the Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, D.D., Chaplain of this Post from 1851 to 1859, X, 179-202; Early Episcopal Churches and Missions in Minnesota, X, 203-231; Bishop Whipple and the Schools at Faribault, X, 697-707.
Transportation in Minnesota, History, IX, 1-34.
Traverse des Sioux, I; Treaty of, I; III; VI; VIII; IX; X, 101-129.
Treaties, Indian, nature of, VIII, 483; IX; X, 105.
Treaties of Traverse des Sioux, X, 101-129.
Treaty with Red Lake Indians, VIII, 61.
Turrell, Orlando B., The Early Settlement and History of Redwood County, IX, 279-290.

United States Land Office, II, 197-199; Government Publications, VIII, 120-128.
University of Minnesota, VI, 38; IX, 610-614; X, 369-383.
Upham, Warren, The Settlement and Development of the Red River Valley, VIII, 11-24; History of Mining and Quarrying in Minnesota, VIII, 291-302; Obituary of Rev. Edward D. Neill, VIII, 497-501; Obituary of John Fletcher Williams, VIII, 501-506; Obituary of Russell Blakeley, IX, 665-670; Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-'56 and 1659-'60, and their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River, X, 449-594; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 765.
Upper Sioux Agency, IX, X.

Van Cleve, Mrs. Charlotte O., A Reminiscence of Fort Snelling, III, 76-81; A Coincidence, III, 103-107.
Van Sant, Gov. Samuel R., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, X, 753.
Vermilion Iron Range, VIII; IX.
Voyageurs, French, in Minnesota, I, 17-36 (1-18); II, 97; III; VIII; IX; X.

Wakan, meaning of, II, 216.
Warren, William W., History of the Ojibway Nation, forming Volume V, 535 pages.
Wheat-raising in the Red River Valley, VIII; earliest in Minnesota, VIII; IX; History, X, 1-33.
Wheelock, Joseph A., Memoir of Joseph R. Brown, III, 208-212.
Whipple, Bishop Henry B., Civilization and Christianization of the Ojibways in Minnesota, IX, 129-142; Recollectoisn of Persons and Events in the History of Minnesota, IX, 576-586; Memorial Addresses, X, 689-720.
Whisky among the Indians, II; III, 150; IX, 126; X, 174.
White, Mrs. N. D., Captivity among the Sioux, August 18 to September 26, 1862, IX, 395-426.
White Earth Reservation, VI; IX.
Wigwam Life of Ojibways, IX.
Wild rice, I; II; IX; X.
Williams, J. Fletcher, The Carver Centenary, II, 257-265; Bibliography of Minnesota, III, 13-75; Memoir of Gov. Henry A. Swift, III, 91-98; Memoir of Capt. Martin Scott, III, 180-187; Memoir of Joseph R. Brown, III, 201-204; Memoir of Hon. Cyrus Aldrich, III, 213-221; Memoir of Hon. David Olmsted, III, 231-241; Tributes to the Memory of Rev. John Mattocks, III, 304-307; History of the City of St. Paul and County of Ramsey, forming Volume IV, 475 pages; Memoir of Rev. S. R. Riggs, VI, 187-188; Memoir of Gen. Henry H. Sibley, VI, 257-310.
Williamson, A. W., Memorial of Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, III, 384-385.
Williamson, Rev. T. S., Who Were the First White Men? I, 295-301 (241-246); Napehshneedoota, a Dakota Christian, III, 188-191; The Sioux or Dakotas of the Missouri River, III, 283-294; Memorial of Rev. Gideon H. Pond, III, 367-371; Dakota Scalp Dance, VI, 409; Earliest Schools in Minnesota Valley, VI, 410-412.
Winchell, Alexander N., Minnesota's Northern Boundary, VIII, 185-212; Minnesota's Eastern, Southern, and Western Boundaries, X, 677-687.
Winchell, Prof. N. H., The Discovery and Development of the Iron Ores of Minnesota, VIII, 25-40; The Source of the Mississippi, VIII, 226-231.
Winnebagoes, Indian tribe, I; II; III; VIII; IX; X.
Winona, Minn., II; first settlement, VIII, 293; quarries, VIII, 297.
Wood Lake, Battle of, II, 255; III; VI; IX; X.

Yanktons, Indian tribe, I; II; III.
Yellow Medicine, Agency, III; VI; IX; X.

Zumbro river, II, 21; III; IX, 213; X, 64.

PERSONAL INDEX OF VOLUMES I-IX.

Names printed in SMALL CAPITALS have biographic sketches, which are cited first, with other references added. Citations followed by a star (*) have portraits. A more complete index is given in each of the separate volumes. Therefore, when the citations are only by the volume, its index will give the pages.

References to pages of Volume I, as first printed with consecutive paging in 1872, are followed by the corresponding pages (in parentheses) of this volume as reprinted in 1902.

Abert, Col. J. J., I, 183 (146).
Accault, Michael, I, V, 156; VI, 65; VII; IX.
Acker, Henry, IV.
ACKER, WILLIAM H., IV.*
Ackley, Mrs. Anna B., VI, 173.
Adams, A. B., VI.
ADAMS, MRS. ANN, VI.
ADAMS, FRANKLIN G., IX, 671.
Adams, Joseph, VI.
Adams, Rev. Moses N., III; VI; IX.
Agassiz, Louis, III, 350; VIII.
Aird, James, I, 369 (303); III.
Aitkin, Alfred, V, 484.
Aitkin, William A., I; III; V; VI; IX, 370.
Aiton, Rev. J. F., I, 147 (117); III; VI; IX.
Ako, Michael; See *Accault.*
Albright, Gov. S. J., VIII.
ALDRICH, HON. CYRUS, III.
Aldrich, Dexter, III, 213.
Alexander, Col. E. B., III.
Allen, Col. Alvaren, IV.
Allen, Lieut. James, I; VI.
Allen, Miss, VI, 162.
Allouez, Claude, I; III, 335; V; VII.
Ames, Michael E., IX, 562.
Ames, William L., IV; IX, 318.
Anastase, Pere, I, 29 (11).
Anawag-ma-ne, Simon, a Sioux, VI; IX.
Anderson, Angus M., I, 195 (156).
Anderson, Bishop David, VIII.
Anderson, Dr. C. L., III, 27.
Anderson, Mary, VI, 468.
Anderson, Thomas G., V, 32.
Andre, Rev. J. A., VI, 37.
Andrews, Gen. C. C., III; VIII.
Andrews, Joseph, II, 105.
Aquipaguetin, a Sioux chief, IX.
Armstead, Lewis K., VIII, 441.
Armstrong, A., IV.
Arnold, Mrs. W. J., III, 59.
Ashmun, Samuel, V, 384.
Astor, John Jacob, I; III; V; VI; VII; VIII; IX.
Atchison, Capt. G. W., VIII.
Atchison, Capt. John, IX.
Atkinson, Gov. Henry, I, 435 (357).
Atwater, Hon. Caleb, IX, 560.
Atwater, Isaac, III, 273; VIII; IX, 188.
ATWOOD, LEVI, IX, 671.
Auguelle, Anthony, I; IX.
Aunger, A., III, 150.
Avery, Benjamin P., VI, 417.
Austin, Gov. Horace, III, 297.
Austrian, Julius, III, 344.
Ayer, Mrs. Elizabeth T., V; VI.
AYER, REV. FREDERIC, I; II, 126; V; VI; IX.

Baasen, Francis, IX, 284.
Babbitt, Miss Frances E., IX, 3.
Babcock, Hon. Lorenzo A., IX; I; 79 (57); IV; VIII.
Backus, Miss, I, 82 (60).
Bad Boy, an Ojibway chief, IX, 132.
Bailey, William C., IX, 272.
Bailly, Alexis, I, 468 (383); II; III; VI; IX.
Baird, Rev. Isaac, VI, 180.
Baker, Benjamin F., I, 469 (384); II; V, 487; VI.
Baker, Daniel A. J., I.
Baker, Gen. James H., II; III; VI; VII; VIII; IX.
Baldwin, Benjamin C., II, 199.
Bancroft, Hon. George, VIII; IX.
Banfield, John, I.
Bangs, William, VI, 12.
Banning, William L., IV;* VIII, 519.
Barbour, James, II, 116; VI, 206.
Bardon, James, IX, 263.
Bardwell, J. P., V, 501; VI.
Barnard, Rev. Alonzo, I; VI.
Barnes, J. M., VII.
Barnes, Thomas G., IX.
Barnett, Rev. John M., IX.
Bass, Jacob W., IV; I; VIII; IX.
Bates, Capt. David G., VIII.
Bayard, James A., VII, 328.
Bayfield, Lt. Henry W., III, 350.
Bayley, Lt. Joseph M., VI, 97.
Bazille, Charles, IV.
Beauleau, Bazille, V.
Beaulieu, Clement, I, 470 (384); III.
Beaulieu, Paul, IX, 61.
Beaumette, William, IV; VI, 276.
Beaux, an Ojibway chief, I, 403 (331).
Becker, Hon. George L., IV;* II, 181; III; 304; VIII; IX.
Bee, Capt. Barnard E., III.
Begg, Alexander, VIII, 66.
Belcourt, Rev. G. A., I.
Bell, Capt. Edwin, VIII, 54.
Bell, Hon. John, VIII.
Beltrami, Constantine, II; I; III; VI; VII;* VIII.
Benedict, Rev. Edwin, VI, 167.
Benson, Lyman L., I, 251 (202).
Benton, Hon. Thomas H., III, 315; VI, 419; IX.
Benz, George, IV.
Berkeley, Bishop George, IX, 508.
Berkey, Capt. Peter, IV.
Berry, Hon. C. H., VI, 37.
Berthot, Colin, V, 411.
Bets, Old, IV;* IX.
Biauswah, an Ojibway chieftain, I, 345 (283).
Bienville, Commander General of Canada, I, 337 (276); III; VII.
Big Curly, a Dakota chief, III, 99.
Big Eagle, a Sioux chief, III, 164; VI.
Bigelow, Charles H., IV.
Bigelow, Horace R., VIII, 97; IX.
Biggs, Hon. Asa, VIII.
Bigsby, Dr. John J., VII; VIII.
Bilanski, S., IV.
Bilanski, Mrs., IV, 392.
Birum Brothers, IX.
Bishop, Harriet E., IX; I, 82 (60); II; III; IV; VI; VII, 151.
Bishop, P. P., I, 79 (57).
Black, Mahlon, IX; I, 60 (40).
Black Dog, a Sioux chief, I; III.
Black Thunder, a Dakota chief, III.
Blaine, Hon. James G., IX, 506.
Blair, Hon. Frank P., Jr., IX, 173.
Blake, Edward, I, 61 (40).
Blakeley, Capt. Russell, IV;* VI; 38; VII; VIII;* IX.
Blanchard, C. C., IV.
Blatchford, Henry, VI.
Bliss, Major John, VI.*
Blum, Mrs. Louis, III, 319.
Boal, James M., IX; I, 484 (395); IV; VIII.
Boardman, Mrs. Martha, I, 81 (59).
Bohall, Henry, VII, 177.

Boilvin, Nicholas, III, 141.
Bonaparte, Joseph, IX.
Bonaparte, Napoleon, I, 108 (83); VII; IX.
Bond, J. W., IV, 186.
Bonga, George, V, 488; IX.
Bonga, Jean, V, 488.
Bonga, Pierre, V, 488.
Bonga, Stephen, V, 488.
Borup, Dr. C. W. W., I, 86 (64); III; IV; VIII; IX.
Bostwick, Henry, V, 209.
Bottineau, Pierre, IV; III, 226; IX.
Bottineau, Severre, IX.
Boucher, Marie, V, 427.
Boucher, Pierre, V.
Boudinot, Elias, V, 62.
Bouet, Francis, III, 3.
Bourassa, Rev., I, 222 (179).
Bourne W. E., IX, 309.
Boutwell, Rev. W. T., I; II, 126; V; VI; VII;* VIII; IX.
Bowron, Hon. Joseph, IX.
Boyden, Hon. Nathaniel, I.
Boyle, C. M., IV.
Brace, Rev. H. J., I, 85 (63).
Brace, P. A. R., I, 55 (35).
Brackett, George A., III, 215.
Bradley, Corporal, I.
Branch, William, IV.
Bras Casse, Dakota chief, I, 381 (312).
Brass, Mrs. Maggie, IX.
Brawley, D. F., IV.
Breck, Rev. J. L., I, 88 (65); IV; VI; IX.
Breckenridge, Hon. John, IX, 498.
Breed, Rev. David R., III.
Bremer, Miss Fredrika, III, 19; IV; IX.
Brewer, Judge D. J., VII, 206.
Brewster, John R., I, 55 (35).
Brill, H. R., IV.
Brisbin, John B., VIII; IV; IX.
Brookings, W. W., VIII.
Brooks, Rev. Jabez, III, 56.
Brower, Hon. J. V., VII;* VIII; IX.
Brower, R. B., VII, 246.
Brown, A. Vance, IX, 593.
Brown, Charles T., II, 199.
Brown, Edwin H., IX, 277.
Brown, Joseph R., III; I; II; IV; VI; VIII; IX.
Brown, Nathaniel, III.
Brown, Samuel F., I, 61 (40).
Brown, William B., I, 252 (203).
Brown, William R., I, 61 (40).
Browne, J. D., II, 199.
Browne, J. Rosse, III, 317.
Browne, S. F., III.
Brownell, George W., IX, 296.
Bruce, Amos J., VI.
Bruce, Rev. H. J., VI.
Brule, Stephen, V, 399.
Brunette, Francis, V, 484; VII, 158.
Brunette, Jean, V.
Brunson, Rev. Alfred, I, 85 (63); IV; V; VI.
Brunson, B. W., IV; IX.
Brunson, Ira B., IV; IX.
Brusky, Charles, I, 397 (326).
Bryant, Charles S., III.
Bryce, Prof. George, VIII, 18.
Bryden, Miss Beulah, VII, 146.
Buchanan, Hon. James, I, 53 (34); VII; IX.
Buck, an Ojibway chief, I.
Buckhart, Charles, IX.
Buckingham, F. A., IX.
Buell, Major Salmon A., III, 93.
Bungo; see *Bonga.*
Burbank, J. C., IV;* VI, 436; VIII; IX.
Burkleo, Samuel, I, 56 (36); IX.
Burnet, Judge Jacob, III, 277.
Burnt, an Ojibway chief, I, 400 (328).
Burt, Hon. D., VI.
Bushnell, Rev. George, III, 358.
Bushnell, William M., IX, 671.

Cabot, discoverer of America, I, 114 (88).
Cadeau, Mons., V.
Cadle, Rev. R. F., III, 278.
Cadotte, J. B., Sr., V; IX, 243.
Cadotte, J. B., Jr., V.
Cadotte, Mrs. J. B., V.
Cadotte, Joseph, V, 450.
Cadotte, Louis, V, 490.
Cadotte, Michael, III, 339; V.
Cadotte, Mrs. Michael, V.
Caillet, Rev. L., IV.
Calhoun, John C., I, 123 (95); III; V, 464; VI, 248; VII; VIII, 179.
Cameron, Murdock, I.
Campbell, A. J., III, 400.
Campbell, Colin, I, 425 (349); III; VI.
Campbell, Duncan, II; III; VI.
Campbell, Hypolite, III.
Campbell, John, III.
Campbell, Joseph, III.
Campbell, Scott, II; III; IV; VI; IX.
Canby, Gen. E. S., IX, 53.
Carey, Hon. John R., IX.*
Carli, Dr. C., I; III, 208.
Carli, Mrs., IX, 375.
Carlton, Reuben B., IX, 250.
Carondelet, Baron de, IX.
Carpenter, C. W., IV.
Carr, William, II, 126.
Carrothers, Mrs. James, IX.
Carter, Sibyl, IX, 136.
Carter, William G., I, 61 (40); IV; IX.
Cartier, Jacques, VII.
Carver, E., VI.
Carver, Henry L., VIII; IV.
Carver, John, I, 349 (286).
Carver, Jonathan, I;* II;* III; IV; VI; VII; IX.
Carver, Martha, II, 278.
Carver, William Joseph, II, 267.
Case, J. A., IV.
Casey, Lt. Col. Silas, IX.
Cass, Hon. Lewis, I; II; III; V; VI; VII;* VIII; IX.
Caster, T. W., IX.
Castle, Henry A., III.
Castle, James N., VII.
Cathcart, A. H., IV;* IX, 671.
Cathcart, J. W., IV.
Catlin, George, I, 480 (392); II, 127; III, 34; V; VI.
Catlin, Hon. John, I; VI; VIII.
Cave, Charles, IV.
Cavenaugh, James M., III, 32; VIII.
Cavender, A. H., IV.
Cavileer, Charles, I; IV; VIII; IX.
Chabouillez, Charles, V.
Chalmers, William, IX, 304.
Chamberlain, Selah, VIII.
Chambers, Julius, VI; VII;* VIII.
Chandler, M. S., II, 199.
Chaney, Josiah B., VIII.
Cha-pah-sin-tay, wife of J. B. Faribault, III.
Charette, Joseph, IX, 74.
Charlevoix, the historian, I.
Chase, Aaron M., IX, 306.
Chase, Charles L., VIII, 168.
Chaska, a Dakota, III.
Chaskedan, a Sioux, IX, 447.
Chatfield, Hon. A. G., III, 26; VIII.
Cheever, Benjamin H., I, 58 (38); IX.
Cheniers, Antoine, VII, 124.
Cheniers, Michel, VII, 124.
Cherrier, Denis, IV.
Chester, Prof. A. A., VIII.
Chetanmaza, a Dakota, III.
Chevri, H., I, 61 (40).
Child, James E., III, 28.
Chingouabe, an Ojibway chief, I, 320 (262).
Chouart, Medard; see *Groseilliers.*
Chouteau, Pierre, Jr., I; III; IV; IX.
Clark, Hon. Greenleaf, VIII; IX, 549.

Clark, Capt. Nathan, I; II; III; V, 474.
Clark, Thomas, IX, 250.
Clark, Capt. William, IX, 503.
Clarke, Mrs. Charlotte, I; III.
Clarke, Hopewell, VII;* VIII.
Clarke, Malcolm, III, 79.
Clarke, Robert, IX, 672.
Clarke, Gov. William, I; II.
Clewett, James R., IV; I, 61 (40); II; III.
Clinton, DeWitt, VII, 143.
Clitherall, Major George B., IX.
Close, Rev. Benjamin, I, 87 (64).
Clough, W. P., VII, 248; VIII; IX.
Cobb, W. R., VII.
Coburn, R. G., IX.
Coe, Rev. Alvin, II, 120; III.
Cole, Hon. Gordon E., VIII, 521.
Coleson, Miss Anna, III, 35.
Collier, John, I, 55 (35).
Comstock, Gen. C. B., III, 348.
Comstock, Hon. S. G., VII, 247.
Conner, Patrick, V, 384.
Constans, William, IV, 323.
Conway, Hon. C. R., VIII, 115.
Cook, Delia, VI.
Cook, John B., II, 257.
Cook, W. W., VII, 188.
Cooke, Jay, III.
Cooley, D. C., IV.
Cooper, Judge David, I, 78 (56); IV; VIII; IX.
Copway, Rev. George, I, 85 (63); VI; IX, 248.
Corbin, John B., V.
Corcoran, William M., IV.
Corey, Miss Julia, III, 319.
Cormack, John, VIII, 278.
Cortes, Hernando, VII, 17.
Corwin, Hon. Thomas, IX.
Cory, J. B., I, 61 (40).
Cotter, L. P., IV.
Coty, J. B., IV.
Coues, Dr. Elliott, IX, 672; VIII.
Coursolle, Joe, III, 390.
Cowell, William G., IX, 272.
Cownselle, Joe, VI, 458.
Cox, William S., IX.
Coy, Ansel B., IV.
Craig, J. H., I, 82 (60).
Craig, Capt. Thomas E., III.
Crandall, Hon. F. A., VIII.
Crane, J. C., VII, 248; VIII.
Cratte, Oliver, II, 130.
Crazy Horse, a Dakota chief, III.
Cressy, Charles, VI, 185.
Cretin, Bishop Joseph, IV;* III.
Crittenden, J. D., III, 344; VIII.
Crook, Gen. G., III.
Crooks, Hester, VI; IX.
Crooks, Ramsey, III; IV; VI; VIII; IX.
Crooks, Col. William, III; IV; IX.
Crosby, J. W., IV.
Cross, George F., IX, 360.
Crowell, R. F., IV.
Crozat, M., I, 338 (277); VII, 98.
Cruger, Capt. William E., III, 76; VI.
Culbertson, Alexander, VI, 248.
Cullen, W. J., IV.
Culver, George, IV; III.
Culver, Col. Joshua B., IX.
Cunningham, H. D., III, 125; VI.
Curly Head, an Ojibway warrior, I, 396 (325); V.
Curtice, D. L., IV.
Curtis, Prof. S. J., VII.
Curtis, Gen. S. R., III, 282.
Cushing, Hon. Caleb, IX.
Custer, Gen. George A., III; IX.
Cutting, Hon. C. D., VII.

Dablon, R. C. priest, I, 21 (5).
Daggett, George H., IX, 549.
Daly, Judge Charles P., IX, 672.
Daniel, R. C. priest, I, 19 (2).
Daniels, Dr. J. W. III; IX.
Dassell, Miss Minnie, VII, 246.

Daumont St. Lusson, V, 10.
Davenport, George L., III.
Davidson, C. D., II, 199.
Davidson, John X., IV.
Davidson, Capt. P. S., VIII.
Davidson, Capt. W. F., IV; VIII.
Davis, Hon. C. K., IV;* III; VI; VII; VIII; IX.
Davis, Capt. John B., VIII, 59.
Davis, Capt. Nelson H., VIII.
Davis, S. Lee, IV.
Davis, Samuel M., IX.
Dawson, William, IX; IV.
Day, Dr. David, IV.*
Day, John, I, 67 (40).
Dayton, Lyman, IV.
Dease, F. M., V, 465.
De Breche, an Ojibway chief, I, 404 (332).
DeCamp, Mrs. III; IX.
DeCamp, Joseph Warren, VI.
DeChairgny, Francois, V, 408.
DeGraff, Andrew, IX.
De La Barre, Governor of Canada, I, 317 (259).
Delafield, Col. Joseph, VII, 337.
Delano, F. R., IV.
Delap, Hiram, VI, 140.
Delmas, R. C. priest, I, 208 (167).
Demaray, Mrs. G., VII, 120.*
DeMichel, IX, 235.
Denny, Capt. St. Clair, VI, 97.
Denton, Mrs. Persis, I, 81 (59).
Denton, Rev. Samuel, I; VI.
Denoyer, Stephen, I, 61 (40).
Denonville, Governor of Canada, I, 317 (260); II.
Desire or Frouchet, IV.
DeSoto, Hernando, I; II; VII.
Dewey, Dr. John J., IX; I; IV.
D'Iberville, a French captain, etc., I; II.
Dickens, Rev. L., I, 87 (65).
Dickson, Col. Robert, I; II; V; VI.
Dickson, William, VI, 205.
Dingley, Daniel, V, 384.
Dodd, John Van Ingen, IX, 209.
Dodge, Gov. Henry, I, 472 (386); II; VI; IX, 292.
Dodge, Henry M., IV, 385; V.
Dollard, Adam, VIII.
Donaldson, Major H. S., VIII, 55.
Donnelly, Frank, IV, 377.
Donnelly, Hon. Ignatius, VI, 27; VIII.
Dorr, Caleb D., IX.*
Doty, Gov. J. D., I, 472 (386); V; IX.
Dougan, Edward C., IX.
Dougherty, Miss, VI, 180.
Douglas, Capt. D. B., VII.
Douglas, Sir James, IX.
Douglas, Hon. Stephen A., VIII.
Douglass, Capt. B., I.
Dousman, H. L., I, 195 (156); II; IV; VI.
Dow, Rev. J. W., I, 97 (65).
Dowlan, John, IV.
Drake, Dr. Daniel, I, 112 (86).
Drake, Hon. Elias F., IV;* VIII; IX.*
Draper, Dr. Lyman C., I; V.
Dreuilletes, Pere, II, 214.
Drew, Benjamin, IX, 660.
Drew, John, V, 383.
Dubuque, Julien, I, 368 (302); II.
Dugast, Rev. G., VI, 37.
Du Gay, Picard, I.
Du Luth, Daniel Greyselon, I; II; III; V; VI.
Duly, William J., IX, 426.
Dumoulin, Rev. S. J. N., I.
Dumphy, Judge John, IX, 273.
Duncan, Mr., I, 383 (314).
Dunlap, John W., IX, 281.
Dunn, Major Isaac, IX, 462.
Dunn, Robert, VII, 262.
Du Pratz, Le Page, VII, 89.
Durant, Capt. E. W., IX.

Eagle, a Dakota chief, III, 320.
Eames, H. H., VIII; IX.
Earle, J. W., IX.
Eastman, Mrs. Mary, III, 34.
Eastman, Capt. Seth, III; VI; VIII.
Eaton, Samuel S., IX, 673.
Eddy, L. H., IV.
Edgerton, E. S., VIII; III, 92.
Egan, J. J., IV.
Eggleston, Miss Cordelia, III, 118.
Egle, Dr. William H., IX, 673.
Ehakeku, Dakota war prophet, I, 282 (229).
Ehnamane, Rev. Artemus, VI, 135.
Elfelt Brothers, IX, 166.
Elfelt, Charles D., IX; VII, 247.
Ellison, Smith, IX.
Ely, Edmund F., IX; I; II, 213; VI.
Emerson, Dr., II; VI.
Emerson, Charles L., II, 199; III; IV.
Emmett, Lafayette, III, 237; VIII.
English, Mrs. Mary, V.
Enmegahbowh, John Johnson, VI; IX.
Esch, M., IV.
Evans, Albert, VIII, 47.
Evans, William, IV; IX.
Ewing, W. L. D., VI.
Ewings, W. G., III, 234.

Faber, Paul, IV.
Fahnestock, George W., II, 264.
Falling Leaf, a Dakota, I.
Fallstrum, Jacob, VI, 140.
Fairbanks, John H., III, 344; VI.
Fairbanks, Joseph, III, 347.
Fairchild, Henry S., IX, 658.
Faribault, Alex., I; II; III; VI; IX.
Faribault, Bartholomew, III.
Faribault, David, II, 137; III; VI.
Faribault, Jean B., III; I; II; VI; VIII; IX.
Faribault, Miss Lucy, III, 319.
Faribault, Oliver, III, 178.
Farnham, Sumner W., IX.*
Farnsworth, J., II, 127.
Farrington, G. W., IV.
Farrington, John, III, 319; IV.
Fearing, Paul, I, 71.
Featherstonhaugh, George W., I; II; III; VI.
Ferrell, N. B., I, 61 (40).
Ferry, Rev. William, V; VI.
Field, Dr. Henry M., VIII.
Fils de Pinchon, a Dakota chief, I.
Finley, James, I, 215 (171).
Finney, T. S., VII, 262.
Fisher, J. S., VI.
Fisher, Jacob, I; IX, 301.
Fisher, Hon. James, IX, 295.
Fisk, Woodbury, IX, 360.
Fiske, Capt. J. L., III, 32.
Fiske, John, VII, 9.
Fitz, R. H., IV.
Flandrau, Hon. Charles E., III; VI; VIII;* IX.
Flandrau, W. B., VII, 292.
Flat Mouth, an Ojibway chief, I; II; IX.
Fletcher, Gen. J. E., III, 234; V, 14; IX, 381.
Fletcher, Orrin, IX, 281.
Flinn, P., I, 61 (40).
Flint, S. M., IV.
Flower, Gen. M. D., IX, 285.
Floyd, Hon. John B., VI, 9; VIII, 435.
Folsom, S. P., IV; IX.
Folsom, William H. C., IX;* VII, 248.
Folwell, Prof. W. W., III, 58; VI, 38.
Forbes, Rev. Robert, IX, 551.
Forbes, William H., IV; IX; I; III; VI; VIII.
Ford, Henry C., IX, 262.
Ford, John A., I, 61 (40).

Foreman, William, I, 60 (40).
Forsyth, Major Thomas, III; VII, 132.
Forsyth, William, III.
Foster, Aaron, IV.
Foster, Dr. John W., III, 350.
Foster, Dr. Thomas, I; IX.
Franchere, Gabriel, IV;* VI; VIII.
Franchet, Desire, VII, 157.
Frazer, Joseph J., III; VI.
Freeborn, Hon. William, IV; III, 387.
Freeman, A., IV.
Freeman, A. J., IV; IX.
Freeman, D. B., IV; IX.
Fremont, John C., I; II; VI; VII, 157; VIII, 476.
French, A. R., I; II; IX.
French, B. F., I, 337 (276).
French, Theodore, IV; VIII, 104.
Fresniere, Antoine D., III. 41.
Freytas, Nicholas, VII, 36.
Friend, K. T., IV.
Frink, Miss, VI.
Frisbie, W. H., VII, 246.
Frontenac, Count, I.
Frost, George S., VII, 247.
Fuller, Alpheus G., VIII.
Fuller, Hon. Jerome, VIII; IX, 159.
Furber, Joseph W., IX.
Furber, P., IV.

Gabrielson, P., IV.
Gage, Gen. Thomas, I, 359 (295).
Gaine, Mrs. L. C., I, 82 (59).
Galbraith, Major Thomas J., VI.
Gale, Dr. John, VI, 213.
Gallatin, Hon. Albert, I, 299 (244).
Galtier, Rev. Lucien, III; IV;* IX.
Gamelle, Francis, I, 182 (145); IV.
Gannett, Henry, VII.
Gardner, Miss Abigail, III, 389.
Garrison, O. E., VII.*
Garvie, Stewart B., III, 400.
Gaultier Family, V, 427.
Gaultier, Magdalene, V, 427.
Gaultier, Marie, V, 427.
Gavin, Rev. Daniel, I; III; VI.
Gear, Rev. E. G., II; IV; IX.
Gear, Capt. H. H., VIII, 399.
Geist, Emil, VII.
George, I. C., IV.
Gervais, Benjamin, IV; III; VI; IX.
Gervais, Peter, IV; I, 61 (40); IX.
Gibbens, Robert, IV.
Gibbon, Gen. John, III.
Gibbs, Nelson, IV.
Gibson, Samuel, II, 119.
Gilbert, Humphrey, III.
Gilbert, Bishop Mahlon, IX.
Gilfillan, C. D., IV;* IX.*
Gilfillan, Hon. James, III; IV; VI.
Gilfillan, Rev. Joseph A., VI, 167; VII;* VIII; IX.
Gillam, Capt. Zachariah, VIII, 361.
Gilman, John M., IV; III.
Glazier, George H., VII, 191.
Glazier, Capt. Willard, VI; VII; VIII.
Gleim, Capt. E. H., VIII.
Godfrey, Andre, I, 61 (40).
Godfrey, Ard, IX.
Gogarn, Julius, IX, 271.
Goodhue, James M., I, 245 (197); III; IV; VI; VIII; IX.
Gooding, Capt. George, I; II.
Gooding, Mrs., II; III.
Goodrich, Hon. Aaron, IV;* I; II; III; VIII; IX.
Goodrich, Col. Earle S., IV;* III; VI.
Goodrich, John S., I, 79 (57).
Good Road, a Dakota chief, I; III.
Good Thunder, a Dakota Indian, VI; IX.

Gordon, H. L., III, 58.
Gore, Christopher, VII.
Gorman, David L., III, 314.
GORMAN, Gov. WILLIS A., III; IV; VIII; IX.
Gormand, Capt., I, 78 (56).
Gould, L. M., VII, 283.
Grace, John, IV.
GRACE, BISHOP THOMAS, IV; III; VI; IX.
Graham, Duncan, II, 130; V, 465; VI.
Graham, J. D., VII, 313.
Grant, Anna, VII, 262.
Grant, Cuthbert, I, 218 (175).
Grant, Capt. Hiram P., VI; X.
Grant, Dr. U. S., VIII.
Grant, Hon. William H., VIII, 115; IX.
Gray, Capt. Robert, IX, 501.
Gray, William C., IV.
Greeley, Elam, I, 478 (391); V, 471; IX.
Greeley, Hon. Horace, IX, 598.
Green, Lt. Platt R., VI, 98.
Green, Dr. Samuel A., VIII, 42.
Greenfield, Mrs. C. T., IX, 259.
Greenfield, Capt. George D., IX.
Greenleaf, Rev. E. A., IV.
Greenleaf, Miss, I, 82 (60).
Grey Iron, a Dakota chief, I; II.
Griffin, Charles J., IX, 42.
Griffith, T. M., III, 27.
Griggs, Chauncey W., IX, 318.
Griswold, G. G., VIII, 419.
Grognon, Augustin, VI.
Gross, N., IV.
Groseilliers (Medard Chouart), II; III; V; VII; VIII; IX.
Grow, Hon. Galusha A., VIII.
Guerin, John, I, 138 (107).
GUERIN, VITAL, IV;* I; III; IX.

Hager, Albert D., VI, 57.
Hail-that-strikes-itself, a Dakota chief, III, 88.
Hainault, Elizabeth, V, 401.
Hainault, Magdeleine, V, 401.
Haines, Ezekiel S., II, 199.
HALE, HENRY, VIII, 522.
Hale, Horatio, V, 42.
Hall, Prof. C. W., VIII, 292.
Hall, Capt. E. S., VI; VII.
Hall, Edwin, VII, 189.
Hall, H. P., III; IV.
Hall, Joseph, IX.
Hall, Rev. Richard, I, 88 (65).
Hall, Samuel, VI, 162.
Hall, Rev. Sherman, V; VI.
HALL, WILLIAM SPRIGG, IV.
HAMILTON, GEORGE A., VIII; VI. 15.
Hamilton, Major Thomas, VI, 97.
Hamlin, Hon. Edward O., IX, 581.
Hancock, John, III, 351.
Hancock, Rev. Joseph W., I, 289 (236); III; VI; IX.
HAND, DR. DANIEL W., VIII, 523.
Hanks, Lt. Porter, V, 460.
Hanse, Major, I, 377 (310).
Haraszthy, Capt. A., VIII.
Harcourt, Dr. H., IV.
HARDENBERGH, P. R. L., VIII, 523.
Harney, Gen. W. S., IX.
Harriman, Samuel, IX, 306.
Harrington, Rev. James, I, 87 (64).
Harris, Capt. D. S., VIII.
Harris, R. S., VIII, 378.
Harris, Hon. W. T., IX, 605.
Harrison, Samuel, I, 365 (300).
Harrower, Henry D., VI.
Hart, Mark, VI, 167; IX, 103.
HARTSHORN, WILLIAM, IV; IX.
Harwood, N. B., VI, 38.
Haskell, Joseph, I, 478 (391).
HATCH, E. A. C., IV; I, 381 (313); II, 180.
Haw-no-pa-gat-an, Indian chief, II.
Hayden, Dr. F. V., VII, 73.
Hayden, W. A., VII, 246.
Hayes, E., VII, 261.

Hayner, Hon. Henry Z., VIII; IX, 159.
Haynes, F. J., VII, 246.
Hay-pee-dan, a Dakota, I, 381 (313).
Hays, I. P., V, 14.
Hays, John, II; III; IV; IX, 391.
Hazen, Gen. W. B., VIII, 493; IX, 598.
Hazzard, George H., IX, 314.
Heard, Isaac V. D., IV; III; VI, VII; VIII, 95.
Heaton, Miss Clara, III, 349.
Hebert, David, I, 61 (40).
Hebert, Mons., II, 93.
Henderson Family, IX.
Hennepin, Louis, I; II; III; IV; V; VI; VIII; IX.
Hennis, Charles J., IV; VIII.
Henry, Alexander, II, 176; III; V; VIII; IX.
Henry, Prof. Joseph, VIII, 103.
Henry, Miss Mary Ann, II, 131.
Henry, William Wirt, IX, 675.
Herbert, Henry William, VI.
Hermann, Hon. Binger, IX, 488.
Herriott, William B., IX, 286.
Herschel, Sir John, I, 359 (295).
Heron, Miss Kate, VI, 163.
Hewitt, Girart, IV; III, 23.
He-yo-kah, a god of the Dakotas, I.
Hibbard, Capt. J. J., IX, 263.
Higgins, Rev. W. R., IX, 274.
Hill, Alfred J., VIII; II; III; VI; VII;* IX, 5.
Hill, E. S., VII, 246.
Hill, James J., VIII; IX, 30.
Hinckley, Mrs. John S., IV.
Hinman, Rev. S. D., III; VI.
Hitchcock, Dr. Edward, VI, 12.
Hoadley, Charles J., IX, 675.
Hobart, Rev. Chauncey, I.
Hodge, Fred A., IX, 311.
Hodges, Hon. L. B., III, 234.
Holcombe, R. I., VI, 382; IX, 427.
Holcombe, Rev. T. J., IX.
Holcombe, Lt. Gov. William, I; V, 492; VIII; IX.
Hole-in-the-Day, Sr., I; II; V.
Hole-in-the-Day, Jr., I; IV; V; VI; IX.
Holiday, John, V.
Holiday, William, V.
Hollinshead, William, I; IV; VIII.
Holmes, D. T., I, 61 (40).
Holmes, J. B., IX, 318.
Holt, Rev. J. W., IX.
Holton, M., VI, 142.
Hone, David, IX.
Honner, John S. G., IX.
Hooe, Miss E. B., II, 133.
Hopkins, Daniel, IV; IX.
Hopkins, Rev. R., I; II; III; VI; IX.
Hopkins, Mrs., III.
Hopkins, Rev. W. E., VII.
Horn, Henry J., IV.
Hornby, Captain, IX.
Horsford, Amanda, I, 82 (60).
Hospes, Louis, IX.
Hough, Sherwood, IV.
Houghton, Dr. Douglass, III, 349; VII.
Howard, Mrs. Jane, VII.*
Howard, Thomas, IV.
Hoyt, Rev. B. F., IV; I, 251 (202).
Hoyt, J. F., IV.
Hubbard, D. W., I, 473 (386).
Huddleston, Rev. M., I, 85 (63); VI, 141.
Hudson, Henry, I, 207 (166).
Huggin, Mrs. Nancy McClure, VI, 439.*
Huggins, Alex. G., I; II, 126; III; VI; IX, 436.
Huggins, Amos W., III; IX, 436.
Huggins, Miss Fannie, III; VI.
Hughes, James, I; III, 273; IV.
Hulbert, Helen, VII, 248.
Hulett, Nehemiah, VIII, 524.
Humphrey, A. A., VI, 9.

Humphrey, James K., I, 80 (58).
Humphrey, Dr. Philander P., IX.
Hungerford, William S., IX, 295.
Hunker, Lt. David, VI, 97.
Hunt, Charles A., VII, 246.
Hunt, Capt. Thomas, I, 435 (356).
Hunt, Lieut. Wellington, I, 433 (355).
Hunter, Gen. David, III.
Hurlbut, George C., VII.
Hurlbut, Rev., I; IV.
Hurtzell, Levi, I, 58 (38).

Iglehart, Harwood, VIII, 524.
Ingalls, E., IX, 264.
Ingersoll, D. W., IV;* VIII, 524.
Inkpaduta, a Dakota chief, III; VI; VIII.
Ireland, Archbishop John, IV; III; VI; VIII; IX.
Irvine, John R., IV;* I, 251 (202); VIII, 47; IX.
Irving, Prof. R. D., VIII.
Irving, Washington, IX.
Irwin, Judge, IX, 300.

Jackson, Henry, IV; IX; I; III; VIII.
Jackson, Oscar F., VI.
Jacobs, Horace, I, 55 (35).
James, Dr. Edwin, II, 7; VI.
James, Freeman, IX, 318.
James, Woodbridge L., VI, 144.
Jamison, Lt. Louis T., VI, 98.
Janson, Dr. De Forbin, III, 226.
Jay, John, VII; IX.
Jefferson, Ernest R., IX, 258.
Jefferson, Robert E., IX.
Jenks, A. T., IX.
Jenney, Charles, III.
Jeune, C., VII, 44.
Jewett, C. F., VII, 246.
Jewett, H. J., II, 118.
Jewett Family, III.
Johnson, Miss Agnes C., III.
Johnson, Gen. Albert S., III, 397.
Johnson, Capt. Alfred B., VIII, 525.
Johnson, E. H., VIII.
Johnson, Edward F., III.
Johnson, Gates A., IV.
Johnson, George, I, 126 (97); VI.
Johnson, John, I, 85 (63); V; VI.
Johnson, P. K., IV; IX, 154.
Johnson, P. O., VI.
Johnson, R. B., I, 60 (40).
Johnson, Gen. R. W., IV;* VI; VIII.
Johnson, Sir William, I, 359 (295). II; V.
Johnson, William, IX, 308.
Johnston, Jane, VII, 146.
Johnston, John, VII, 146.
Johnston, William, II, 199.
Joliet, Louis, I; V, 408; VII; VIII.
Jones, A. C., IV; VIII, 97.
Jones, Amos, I, 81 (59).
Jones, Prof. Frederick S., IX.
Jones, Gen. G. W., I; II; VIII.
Jones, John, VI, 135.
Jones, Hon. John R., IX, 675.
Jones, Peter, VI, 135.
Jouett, Capt. W. R., II.
Jourdan, Allan, IX, 105.
Judd, Lewis, IX.

Kane, Paul, V, 69.
Kavenaugh, Rev. B. F., I, 85 (63); VI.
Kavenaugh, Rev. H., I, 85 (63).
Kearney, Gen. S. W., III, 287.
Keating, Prof. William H., I; II; III; V; VIII, 14.
Keen, Fremont, IX, 271.
Kelley, William H., IX, 676; VIII.
Kelly, Anthony, VI, 31.
Kelly, Hon. Patrick H., IX, 676.
Kemper, Bishop J., VI; IX.
Kennedy, Hon. Anthony, VIII, 176.
Kennedy, Robert, I, 56 (36); IV.
Kent, Rev. Aratus, III, 358.
Kent, Capt. William, IX.

Kephart, Miss Julia, VI, 152.
Kerr, Rev. A. H., III, 97.
Kidder, J. P., IV; VIII.
Kiefer, Hon. Andrew R., IV.
Killiew, a Dakota chief, III.
King, Dana E., II, 199.
King, David, I; VI.
King, Lt. Col. Josias R., VIII, 442.
King, Hon. Rufus, IX.
King, William S., III, 359; VI.
Kingsbury, Lieut. David L., VIII.
Kingsbury, Hon. W. W., VIII.
Kirk, Sir John, V, 401.
Kirk, T. H., VII.*
KITTSON, NORMAN W., IV;* I, 469 (384); II; III; VIII; IX.
Kloos, J. H., VIII, 27.
Knapp, Hon. J. G., I, 54 (34).
Knox, R. C., IV.
Kribs, Frederick, VII, 246.

Labothe, Francois, I, 469 (384), II; III.
Lafferty, R. M., VI.
La Fleche, Rev. S., I, 222 (179).
La Framboise, Joseph, I; II; III.
La Harpe, Benard de, V, 163.
La Hontan, Baron, I; II; III; V; VII, 88.
Laird, Hon. W. H., IX, 320.
Lamb, John M., IV.
LAMBERT, DAVID, IV; I; VIII.
Lambert, E. C., IV.
Lambert, Henry A., IV.
Lamprey, Morris, III, 326.
Lamson, Chauncy, III, 254.
LAMSON, GEORGE W., VIII, 525.
Lance, a Sauk chief, III.
Lane, James H., III, 315.
LANE, JOHN JAY, IX, 677.
LANGDON, ROBERT B., VIII, 525.
Langford, Nathaniel Pitt, IX.*
Langton, Bishop Stephen, IX, 576.
Lanman, Charles, III, 18; VII, 247.*
Lapham, Prof. Increase A., IX, 24.
LA ROCHE, L. H., IV; IX.
LARPENTEUR, A. L., IV; I; VIII, 76; IX.*
Larpenteur, Charles, IX, 365.
Larpenteur, Eugene, IX.
Larrabee, Hon. Charles H., I, 54 (34).
Larrivier, L., IV.
LaSalle, Robert Cavelier, I; III; IV; VI; IX.
Law, John, I, 35 (17).
Lawrence, Lorenzo, III; VI; IX.
Lawrence, Phineas, IX, 300.
Lea, Lt. Albert M., III.
Lea, Hon. Luke, I, 472 (386).
Leach, Calvin, I, 56 (36); IX.
LEAVENWORTH, COL. HENRY, III; I; II; VI, VIII.
LeClaire, Antoine, III.
LeClaire, Michel, IX, 376.
LeClerc, A., II, 138; IX.
LeDuc, Gen. William G., III, 20; VIII; IX.*
LEE, WILLIAM, IV.
Leech, Gen. Samuel, IV.
Legardeur, Augustin, II, 93.
Legardeur, Jacques, V, 428.
LE SUEUR, PIERRE, Canadian explorer, V; I; III; VII; VIII; IX.
Levasseur, Prof. E., VIII.
Lewis, T. H., VII; VIII.
Lewis, Dr. William, VI.
Lewis and Clark, IX.
Leyendecker, John, VII, 227.*
Libbey, Joseph, IX.
Lienau, C. H., IV.
Lightner, William H., IX.
Lind, Gov. John, IX.
Little Crow, Dakota chief, I; II; III; IV; V; VI; VIII; IX.
Little Raven, Dakota chief, II, 30, 44.
Little Six; see *Shakopee.*
Little Soldier, an Ojibway warrior, I.

Livingston, Robert R., VII, 311; IX.
Livingston, Miss Ruth, III, 92.
Lodwick, Capt. M. W., VIII.
Long, Col. Stephen H., I; II; III; VI; VII; VIII; IX.
Long, Steve, III, 399.
Longley, Thomas L., III, 121; VI.
Loomis, D. B., IX; VIII, 272.
Loomis, Col. G., I, 88 (66); II; III; VI; VIII.
Loras, Bishop, II, 138; III; IV; IX, 163.
L'Original leve; see *Tah-mah-haw.*
Lott, B. W., IV; VIII.
Lounsberry, Col. C. A., VIII, 116.
Lovejoy, James A., IX.
Lowry, Gen. S. B., III, 316; IX.
Luce, Sidney, IX.
Ludden, Hon. John D., III, 63; IX.
Lull, C. P. V., IV; I; VIII; IX.
Lumsden, George L., IV, 388.
Lyendecker, John, VII.*
Lynd, J. W., III; II.
Lynd, Rev. S. W., III, 107.
Lyon, Lucius, II, 198.
Lyons, Lord, IX.
Lytle, R. T., II, 199.
Lytle, William, II, 198.

McBean, John, VII, 124.
McCabe, Lieut. Robt. A., VI, 97.
McCann, Hugh, IX, 166.
McCaskey, Capt., IX, 138.
McCloud Brothers, IX, 166.
McCluer, Charles M., VIII, 518.
McCluer, Hon. William M., VIII, 518.
McClung, John W., IV;* III.
McClure, Nancy, VI.
McComb, James D., I.
McCormick, Findlay, IV.
McCormick, R. L., IX, 310.
McCracken, Miss Lavinia, III, 186.
McCullum Henry, II, 115.
McDonald, Archibald, VIII.
McDonald, D., IV; I, 61 (40); III; IX.
McDonald, Richard, I, 61 (40).
McDowell, Gov. Alex, VI, 82.
McDowell, Gen. Irwin, III, 322.
McElrath, A., IV.
McGillis, Hugh, I; V.
McGillivray, Alexander, IX.
McGillivray, William, V.
McGolrick, Rev. James, VI, 37.
McGrorty, William B., IV.
McGruder, Lt. W. T., VIII, 441.
McKay, Rev. S. A., VII.
McKean, Elias, IX.
McKenney, Thomas L., II, 178; V.
McKenty, Henry, IV.
McKenzie, Alex., V; VII; VIII.
McKenzie, James, VIII, 56.
McKenzie, R., V.
McKey, James, VIII.
McKinley, President William, IX, 141.
McKinney, T. L., IX, 244.
McKinstry, H. K., I, 55 (35).
Mackubin, C. N., IV.
McKusick, J. E., I.
McKusick, Hon. John, IX.
McLaughlin, John W., I, 61 (40).
McLean, Nathaniel, IV; I, 252 (203); III, 273.
Mc Leod, Alexander, I, 484 (395); IV.
McLeod, Malcolm, VIII, 372.
McLeod, Martin, I; III, 243; VI; VIII; IX.
McMahon, J. P. C., VI.
McMasters, Dr. James M., III, 297.
McMasters, Rev. S. Y., III; II. 264; IV; VIII; IX, 192.
MacMillan, Prof. Conway, IX.
McMillan, Hon. S. J. R., VIII; IV; VI.
McMullen, William, VII, 264.
McNair, Thomas, II, 107.
McNair, W. W., VI, 38.
McNamara, C., I, 35 (16).

McPhail, Col. Samuel, IX.
McReynolds, Rev., I, 85 (63).
McTavish, Simon, I, 215 (173).
McTavish, Gov. William, VIII.
Macomb, Gen. Alex., III, 197; VII.
Madison, President James, IX.
Madison, Samuel, VI, 167.
Magner, James, III, 403.
Magruder, Capt. J. B., III, 320; V.
Mainzer, J., IV.
Mallmann, John, VIII.
Malmros, O. IV.
Manock, Charles, IX.
Man-of-the-sky, a Dakota chief, III, 359.
Mansfield, Jared, II, 198.
Marble, Mrs. M. A., III.
March, I. N., VII.
Marcy, Gen. R. B., II, 139.
Marest, Pere, II, 93.
Markell, Clinton, IX.
Markoe, William, IV.
Marksman, Peter, VI.
Marquette, Rev. James, III; VIII.
Marryatt, Capt., II, 133; VI, 240.
Marsh, Capt. John S., VI, 391; IX.
Marshall, Chief Justice, IX.
Marshall, J. M., IV.
Marshall, Rev. Thomas, III, 56.
MARSHALL, WILLIAM R., VIII;* IV;* III; VI; IX.
Martin, Gov. Alexander, IX, 467.
Martin, Judge F. X., IX, 459.
MARTIN, CAPT. JOHN, IX.*
Martin, Louis, II, 140.
Martin, O. C., IX.
Marvin, Luke, IV.
Marvin, Richard, IV; VIII.
MASON, EDWARD GAY, IX, 677.
Mason, Gen. Edwin C., VIII; IX.
Massie, Louis, VI, 88.
Masterson, Henry F., III, 326; IV; VIII.
MATHER, PROF. WILLIAM W., I.
Mattocks, Dr. B., IV.
Mattocks, Gov. John, III.
MATTOCKS, REV. JOHN, III; II; IV;* VIII; IX, 583.
Mattson, Hans, III, 25; VI, 38.
Maury, Lt. M. F., VIII, 106, IX, 566.
MAXFIELD, J. T., IV; III, 326.
MAYER, FRANK BLACKWELL, IX, 677.
Mayhew, Henry, VIII, 38.
MAYO, CHARLES E., IX;* IV; VIII.
Mayrand, J. B., II, 107.
Mazakootamane, Paul, III; IX.
Meade, Gen. G. K., III, 348.
MEAGHER, JOHN F., VIII, 526.
Medary, Gov. Samuel, III; VIII.
Meeker, Hon. Bradley B., I, 78 (56); III; VIII; IX, 159.
Mege, Alex. IV.
Meigs, Josiah, I, 364 (299); II, 198.
Melville, George R., VIII.
Membre, Father Zenobe, IX, 239.
Mencke, Henry C., II, 140.
MERRIAM, HON. JOHN L., IV;* VIII, 527; IX.
Merriam, Gov. William R., VII, 233.
Merrick, Rev. John A., I, 88 (65); IX.
MERRILL, DANIEL D., VIII, 527.
Merriman, Hon. O. C., IX, 350.
Merritt Brothers, VIII.
Merritt, Lewis H., IX, 255.
Mesh-a-ki-gi-zhick, an Ojibway chief, IX, 75.
Mesnard, Rene, I; II; III; V, 404.
Messer, Alanson, IX, 28.
Metcalf, Dr. George R., VIII.
METCALF, TRACY M., IV.
Millard, Rev. W. B., VIII, 506.
Miller, A. P., VI, 55.
Miller, H. H., IV.
Miller, Robert P., IX, 272.
Miller, N. D., VII.
Mills, Miss, VI, 162.
Mills, William, IX, 423.

Milton, John, IX, 574.
Miner, D. I., VI.
Miro, Governor, IX.
Mitchell, Col. A. M., IV; I, 79 (57); VIII; IX, 159.
Mitchell, Rev. Edward C., VIII.
Mitchell, John, VII.
Mitchell, W. H., III.
Mix, Charles H., IX, 200.
Moffet, Lot, IV.
Mogras, Jacques, V, 408.
Mojou, Joseph, I, 381 (313).
Monfort, Capt., IX, 390.
Monfort, Delos A., IX, 677.
Monroe, President James, IX.
Mooers, Hazen, I, 469 (384); II, 119; III; IX,
Moore, George W., III; IV; VIII.
Moore, Thomas, III, 398.
Moran, Prof. T. F., VIII.
Moreau, Pierre, V, 408.
Morgan, C. A., IV.
Morgan, Col. George, IX, 461.
Morgan, George B., VI, 167.
Morgan, John, I, 61 (40).
Morison, Alex H., VII, 122.
Morran, Francis, I, 61 (40).
Morrell, Major A. C., VIII, 60.
Morris, C. A. F., IV.
Morris, W. K., VI.
Morrison, Allan, I; III; V; VII; IX.
Morrison, Dorilus, VIII, 527; VI; IX.*
Morrison, W. C., IV.
Morrison, William, I, 417 (343); V; VI; VII;* VIII, 216.
Mortimer, R. W., IV; IX.
Morton, Dr. William H., IV.
Moss, Hon. Henry L., IV; I; VI; VIII; IX.*
Mott, George C., II, 199; IV.
Mousseau, Charles, II, 129; III, 227; IV.
Mower, John E., I, 478 (391); IX, 316.
Mower, Martin, IX, 316.
Munger, R. S., IX, 262.
Murphy, Dr. J. H., IV; VIII, 460.
Murphy, Major R. G., III.
Murray, Hon. William P., IV; VIII; IX.
Myrick, Andrew, III; VI; IX, 444.
Myrick, Nathan, IV; II, 180; III; IX.

Nabonaskong, an Ojibway warrior, IX, 133.
Napashnee, Mary, III.
Napehshneedoota, a Dakota, III.
Navarro, Martin, IX.
Neal, W. E., VI, 12.
Neill, Rev. Edward D., IV;* VIII;* I; II; III; V; VI; IX.
Nelson, Hon. Knute, X.
Nelson, R. R.,IV;* VI; VIII; IX.
Nelson, Socrates, I, 55 (35); III; IX.
Nettleton, George E., II, 180; IX.
Nettleton, William, III, 350; IX.
Newcombe, Rev. C. A., I, 87 (65).
Newell, Francis S., IX, 662.
Newington, Miss Emily, III, 323.
Newman, Mrs., and family, VI, 176.
Newson, Major T. M., III; IV; VIII.
Newton, J. T., II, 180.
Newton, Capt. Leroy, IX, 286.
Newton, William H., II, 180.
Nez Corbeau, a Dakota chief, I, 416 (342).
Nichols, Charles, IV.
Nichols, Rev. H. M., III, 55.
Nicolet, Jean, V; VII.
Nicollet, J. N., I; II; III; V; VI; VII;* VIII.
Nicollet, Margaret, V, 428.
Nicols, John, IV.
Noah, Jacob J., VIII; IX, 392.
Noble, Charles, II, 199.
Noble, Rev. Frederick A., III, 56.
Nobles, Rev. L., I, 87 (65).

Nobles, Milton V., IX, 299.
Nobles, William H., IV; I, 250 (201); III, 31; VIII; IX, 299.
Norris, J. S., IX, 152; I; II, 199; III, 270.
North, John W., VIII, 168; IX.
Northrop, Pres. Cyrus, IX.
Northrup, Capt. George W., VIII.
Northup, Anson, I, 55 (35); VIII; IX.
Norwood, Dr. J. G., III, 350; VIII.
Nutting, Levi, II, 199.

Oakes, Charles H., III; V, 384, IX.
O'Brien, Dillon, III, 59.
O'Connor, M. J., IV.
Odell, Thomas S., IV.
Officer, Harvey, IV; IX.
Officer, Mrs. Harvey, III, 324.
Ogden, Major Edmund A., I, 437 (358); III, 117.
O'Gorman, John, IV.
Old Bets, IV;* IX.
Oldmixon, John, VIII, 361.
Oliphant, Laurence, IX, 184.
Olivier, John B., IV.
Olivier, Louis M., IV.
Olmsted, David, III; IV; IX; I; VIII.
Olmsted, Page, III.
Olmsted, Timothy, III, 231.
Ord, William, IX, 255.
Otchaga, a Dakota chief, III, 2.
Other Day, John, a Dakota, III; VI; IX.
Otis, George L., IV.*
Ouasicoude, a Sioux chief, IX.
Ourry, Thomas, I, 213 (171).
Outard Blanche, a Dakota chief, I.
Owen, David Dale, III.
Owens, John P., IV; I, 252 (203); III.
Ozawindib, an Ojibway chief, I.

Page, Col. John H., VIII.
Paine, Channing, VI, 19.
Paine, Parker, IV.
Palmer, Judge E. C., IV; IX, 203.
Pangman, P., I, 215 (173).
Parker, Charles H., IX, 593.
Parker, John, VI, 162.
Parkman, Francis, VIII; IX.
Parrant, Pierre, IV; II, 133; III; IX.
Parsons, Rev. J. P., I, 87 (65); IV.
Passavant, Charles A., IV.
Patch, Luther, IX, 340.
Paterson, Rev. A. B., IV; IX.
Patten, Mrs. J. R., IV.
Patterson, Gen. Robert, II, 127.
Patton, James, I, 61 (40).
Payne, Henry B., II.
Payne, Robert F., II.
Peake, Rev. E. Steele, VI; IX.
Peckham, John A., IV.
Peet, Rev. James, IX.
Pellamourgues, Rev. Joseph, III.
Penicaut, early explorer, with Le Sueur, I; III.
Pepin, Antoine, IV.
Perley, John W., IX, 309.
Perrot, Nicholas, I; II; III; V; VII.
Perry, Abraham, IV; II; VI; IX.
Perry, Amos, IX, 678.
Perry Family, II.
Peshick, an Ojibway chief, IX, 293.
Peter Bigfire, an Indian, VI, 175.
Peters, Dr. Samuel, I; II.
Petit Corbeau; see *Little Crow.*
Pettigrew, Hon. R. F., VIII, 132.
Pettijohn, Eli, III, 319; VIII, 434.
Pettijohn, Jonas, III; VI.
Pettijohn, Miss Ruth, VI, 173.
Peyton, H. M., IX, 264.
Pfaender, Col. William, IX, 282.
Phalen, Edward, IV; I, 61 (40); II; III; IX.
Phalen, Michael, I, 61 (40).
Phelps, Hon. John S., VIII, 151; IX, 546.
Phelps, William F., III, 58.

Phelps, Hon. William W., VIII.
Phillips, Miss, VI, 180.
PHILLIPS, WILLIAM D., IV; I, 79 (57); III, 272; VIII; IX, 380.
Pickett, Capt. George E., IX.
Pierce, Allen, I, 250 (202).
Pierce, Hon. James Oscar, IX.
Pierson, A. T. C., III, 44.
Pike, Zebulon M., I; II; III; V; VII;* VIII; IX, 106.
Pillsbury, Hon. Chas. A., IX, 360.
Pillsbury, Hon. George A., IX, 360.
PILLSBURY, Gov. JOHN S., IX;* III; VI.
Pinichon, a Dakota chief, I; III.
Plessie, Rev. Joseph, I, 219 (176).
Plumer, Hon. William, IX, 493.
PLYMPTON, CAPT. JOSEPH, I, 435 (356); II; III; IV; V; VI; VIII.
Poage, Col. James, III, 373.
Poage, Miss Margaret, III.
Poage, Miss Sarah, I, 81 (59); VI.
Poinsett, Hon. J. R., I, 189 (151); II.
Polk, President James K., I, 59 (39); IX, 506.
Pomroy, Jesse H., IX, 383.
Pond, Rev. Edward R., III; VI.
POND, REV. GIDEON H., III; IX; I; II; V; VI; VIII.
POND, MAJOR JAMES P., VIII, 528.
Pond, Peter, I.
Pond, Rev. Samuel W., I; II; III; V; VI; VIII; IX.
Pope, Rev. J. W., I; II; III; VI.
Pope, Gen. John, III; VI; VIII.
Porter, Rev. Jeremiah, VI, 114; VII.
Porter, Peter B., VII.
Post, Capt. Ed., IX, 281.
Potter, Rev. Joshua, III; VI, 154.
Potter, Nathaniel, V, 442.
POTTS, Dr. T. R., IV; VIII, 272; IX, 561.
Powers, Simon, IV.
Pratt, Major, IX, 119.
Prescott, George W., III, 316; IV.
PRESCOTT, PHILANDER, VI; I; II; III; VIII; IX.
PRESLEY, B., IV;* IX.
Price, Mrs. E. B., V., 18.
PRINCE, JOHN S., IV; III, 326; VIII, 528; IX.
Provencalle, Louis, I; III; IX, 7.
Provencher, Rev. J. N., I; III, 229.
Provost, Hyppolite, II, 127.
Pugh, Rev. James, IX, 273.
Pulsifer, Charles, VI.
Purcell, Dr. Edward, III, 155.
Purinton, James, IX, 307.
Pusey, Pennock, III, 22.
Putnam, Prof. F. W., IX, 3.
Putnam, Rev. J. W., I, 87 (64).
Putnam, Rufus, II, 198.

QUASH-QUA-MIE, a Sac chief, III, 143.
Quincy, Hon. Josiah, IX, 492.
Quinn, Patrick, III, 130.
Quinn, Peter, I; II; VI.

Race, S. J., IX, 285.
Radisson, Margaret, V, 401.
Radisson, Pierre Esprit, I; V; VII; VIII; IX.
Raguet, Samuel T., IV; VIII, 277.
RAKOWSKI, JOHN G., IX, 271.
Ramaley, David, III.
RAMSEY, Gov. ALEXANDER, I; III; IV;* V; VI; VII; VIII; IX.*
Ramsey, J. C., IV; VIII, 272.
Randall, E. D. K., IV.
Randall, John, IV.
Randall, John H., IV.
RANDALL, WILLIAM H., IV; IX.
Randall, William, Jr., IV.
Randolph, Witt, VI.
RAVOUX, REV. A., IV;* I; III; IX, 583.
Ray, James D., IX.
Raymond, B. W., IX, 273.

Raymond, John B., II, 134.
Red Bird, a Winnebago chief, I, 435 (357); II.
Red Cloud, a Dakota chief, III.
Red Iron, a Dakota chief, III, 320.
Red Thunder, a Dakota chief, I, 416 (342).
Red Wing, a Dakota chief, I; II; III.
Reed, Charles, IV.
Reed, L. E., IV, 411.*
Reese, Rev. Charles W., VI.
Reese, Edward, IX, 94.
Relf, Richard, IX, 253.
Reno, Capt. J. L., III.
Renfro, William C., IV; IX.
Renville, A., I, 94 (71); II; III; IX, 447.
Renville, Daniel, VI, 185.
Renville, Gabriel, III, 89; V.
Renville, J. B., III; VI; IX, 449.
Renville, Joseph, I; III; VI; IX, 7.
Renville, Lewis, VI, 185.
Renville, Peter, VI, 185.
Renville, Simon, VI, 185.
Resh, Joseph, I, 61 (40).
Rhawn, William H., IX, 165.
Rhodes, D. C., VII.
Rhodes, H. C., III, 234; IV.
Rhodes, J. H., VII.
Rice, Hon. Edmund, IV;* I, 79 (57); VI; VIII; IX.
Rice, Hon. Henry M., IV; I; II; III; V; VI; VIII; IX.*
Rice, N. W., VII, 262.
Rice, Orrin, III, 350; IX.
Richardson, Eliphalet, IX, 441.
Riggs, A. L., III, 363.
Riggs, Rev. Stephen R., VI; I; II; VIII; IX.
Riheldaffer, Rev. J. G., VIII; IV; VI.
Robert, Capt. Louis, IV;* I; VIII; IX.
Roberts, Captain Charles, V, 460.
Robertson, Andrew, IX, 427.
Robertson, Col. D. A., IV; III; V; VIII; IX.
Robertson, George O., VIII, 530.
Robideau, IX, 313.
Robideau, Mrs., IX, 448.
Robinson, Fred John, VII, 335.
Roche, J. W., IV.
Rock, Augustus, I, 469 (384).
Rocque, Augustin, III.
Rodgers, Major, I.
Rogers, Hiram, IV, 394.
Rogers, Hon. Luther Z., VIII, 530.
Rogers, Major Robert, V.
Rohrer, D., IV.
Rolette, Mr., I; V.
Rolette, Joseph, IV; II; III; VI; IX.
Rollins, Capt. John, VIII, 48.
Rondo, Joseph, I; III; IV; VI; IX.
Root, Hon. Joseph, III, 269.
Rosa, Gabriel, II.
Ross, Hon. James, IX, 481.
Ross, Jerry, IX, 315.
Rosseau, Oliver, I, 61 (40).
Rosser, Gen. T. L., VI.
Rowe, Barbara, VII, 142.
Roy, Peter, VI, 402.
Rudsdell, John, I, 376 (308).
Rumsey, Mrs. Matilda, IV.
Russell, Lt. J. B., VI, 97.
Russell, Rev. J. T., II, 121.
Russell, Jeremiah, IX; I, 178 (142); V.
Russell, Jerome, VII, 328.
Russell, Lord John, IX, 49.
Russell, R. P., III, 316; IX.

Sagandoshee, a Dakota warrior, I, 450 (369).
Sagean, Matthias, VII, 87.
Saint Antoine, Charles, I, 471 (385).
Saint Martin, Paschal, I, 61 (40).
Saint Pierre, Jacques Legardeur, V.
Saint Pierre, Marie, V, 429.

Saint Pierre, Capt. Paul, I; III, 3; V.
Salisbury, Frank, II, 182.
Sanborn, Gen. John B., IV;* III; VII;* VIII; IX.
Say, Thomas, III, 16.
Sayer, John, V.
Scarlet Eagle Tail, a Dakota chief, III, 88.
Scharf, John Thomas, IX, 678.
Scheffer, Charles, IV.
Schiffbauer, H., IV.
Schmidt, William, IX, 430.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., I; II; V; VI; VII;* VIII; IX.
Schurmeier, C. H., IV.
Schurz, Hon. Carl, IX.
Schwandt, Mary, VI;* IX.
Scofield, Miss, I.
Scott, Dred, II, 115.
Scott, Capt. Martin, I, 433 (355); III, 180.
Scott, Gen. Winfield, I; III; VI; VIII; IX.
Seccombe, Rev. Charles, I, 88 (65).
Sedella, Father de, IX, 463.
Sedgwick, Miss Catherine M., VIII, 397.
Selby, J. W., IV; IX.
Selkirk, Lord, I, 390 (320); VI; VII.
Selkrig, Charles, VI.
Semple, Governor, I, 218 (175).
Setzer, Henry N., IX, 155.
Sevier, Gov. John, IX.
Sevigny, R. C. priest, I.
Seward, Hon. William H., VIII.
Seymour, E. S., III, 19.
Seymour, Hon. Horatio, IX, 573.
Seymour, John L., VI.
Seymour, Mrs. I, 81 (59).
Shabaskong, an Ojibway chief, IX, 187.
Shakopee, or Shakpedan, a Dakota chief, I; III; VI; IX.
Shanafelt, Rev. T. M., VIII.
Shanley, Rev. John, III, 327.
Shea, J. G., II; III, 15; VI, 67; VII; VIII; IX.
Sheehan, Col. T. J., IX, 118.
Shepherd, Capt. S. W., II, 143.
Sherburne, Hon. Moses, IV; VIII.
Sherman, Hon. John, VIII.
Sherman, Major Thomas W., III, 406; VI; IX.
Sherman, Gen. W. T., III; VIII, 109; IX.
Sherwood, Capt. George, IX, 265.
Shields, Hon. James, III; VIII; IX, 176.
Sibley, Gen. Henry H., III; I; II; IV;* VI; VII; VIII; IX.
Sibley, Solomon, III, 277.
Siegfried, A. H., VI, 19; VII.*
Sigimore, Austin, VI, 18.
Simon, Anawangmane, a Sioux, VI.
Simons, Orlando, IV; I, 252 (203); VIII.
Simpson, Governor, I.
Simpson, Sir George, VIII.
Simpson, Gen. J. H., III, 67; VIII.
Simpson, J. W., IV; I, 60 (40); IX.
Simpson, James, VI, 141; IX.
Simpson, Hon. Jerry, IX, 265.
Simpson, Hon. Thomas, IX, 320.
Sinclair, James, I, 242 (195).
Sitting Bull, a Dakota, III.
Skinner, Miss Paris, VI, 134.
Sky Man, a Dakota chief, I.
Slade, Gov., I, 82 (60).
Sloan, David T., I, 61 (40).
Sloan, Levi, IV; IX, 166.
Sloan, Thomas, IX.
Smith, A. C., III, 44.
Smith, Ansel, IX, 315.
Smith, Charles K., VIII;* IV; IX.
Smith, Daniel F., IX, 313.
Smith, Rev. E. P., IX.
Smith, Rev. Fred, IX, 135.

Smith, Frederick, VI, 167.
Smith, George, VI, 167.
Smith, J. V. C., VIII, 107.
Smith, James, Jr., IV;* IX, 28.
Smith, John A., IX, 178
Smith, Lt. Melancthon, VI, 97.
Smith, Capt. Orren, I, 250 (201); VIII.
Smith, Hon. Robert, of Illinois, I, 66 (45).
Smith, Hon. Robert A., IV; III, 316.
Smith, Truman M., IX, 593.
Smith, Gen. William R., II; IX, 293.
Smoky Day, a Dakota chief, I, 146 (115).
Smyth, Henry M., VIII, 531.
Snana (Mrs. Maggie Brass), a Sioux woman, IX.*
Snelling, Mrs. Abigail, I; II; III.
Snelling, Col. Josiah, I; II; III; VI.
Snelling, William J., I, 439 (360); II; III; VI.
Snow, F. E., II, 199.
Snyder, Harmon, III, 233.
Solomons, Ezekiel, V, 209.
Sorin, Rev. M., III, 55.
Spates, Rev. S., I, 85 (63); VI.
Spees, Francis, VI.
Spencer, Rev., I.
Spencer, D. B., VI.
Spencer, George H., III, 86; VI.
Spicer, Miss Rhoda W., VI, 178.
Spining, Mathias, IX.
Split Lip, a Dakota, I.
Spofford, Hon. A. R., VIII, 112.
Spooner, Miss Abigail, VI.
Sproat, Col. Ebenezer, III, 277.
Sproat, Granville T., VI.
Sproat, Miss Sarah W., III, 277.
Spurr, J. E., VIII, 294.
Stambaugh, Samuel C., IX, 145.
Stanchfield, Daniel, IX.*
Stanchfield, Samuel, IX.
Stanton, Hon. Edwin M., IX, 141.
Staples, Isaac, IX.
Starkey, James, III; IV.
Steele, Franklin, IX;* I; II; III; IV; VI; VIII.
Steele, Miss Sarah J., III, 279.
Stephens, Hon. Alexander, VIII.
Stephenson, O., IV.
Stevens, Miss C., II, 138.
Stevens, Rev. Enos, I, 85 (64).
Stevens, Gen. Isaac, III, 48.
Stevens, Rev. J. D., I, 87 (62); II; III; VI.
Stevens, Col. John H., III; IV; VI; VIII.
Stevens, Miss Lucy Cornelia, III; VI.
Stevens, Miss Sabrina, VI, 143.
Stewart, Dr. J. H., IV;* II, 289.
Stimpson, Charles W., IX.
Stinchfield, William, I, 61 (40).
Stoddard, Gen. Amos, IX, 540.
Stone, Ellis, III, 314.
Stone, George C., IX; VIII.
Stone, Miss Martha, III.
Storer, Lieut. William, II, 126.
Story, Judge Joseph, IX, 496.
Stowe, Hon. Lewis, IX, 118.
Strong, Charles D., VIII, 531.
Strong, Moses M., VIII, 74.
Stryker, Gen. William S., IX, 679.
Stuart, Robert, III; V.
Stuntz, George R., VIII, 293; IX, 259.
Sully, Gen. Alfred, VIII.
Sunday, John, an Ojibway, VI, 135.
Sweeney, Peter C., VII, 177.
Sweeny, Dr. R. O., IV.
Sweet, an Ojibway chief, I; V.
Sweet, Mrs. De Camp, VI;* IX; 679.
Sweet, George W., IX, 679; VI.
Sweetser, Madison, IX, 210.

Swift, Gov. Henry A., III, 91.
Sykes, Sir Francis, VIII.
Sylvie, R. C. priest, I, 211 (169).

Tache, Rev. Als., I, 222 (179).
Tah-mah-haw, a Dakota, I.
Tailhan, J., II.
Takoha, a Dakota war prophet, I, 144 (113).
Taliaferro, Major Lawrence, I; II; III; IV; V; VI; VII, 157.
Talmadge, Josiah, II, 180.
Taney, Chief Justice, IX, 518.
Tanner, John, III, 17; VI.
Taopi, a Dakota, VI, IX.
Taylor, H. J., IV.
Taylor, Horace A., IX, 307.
Taylor, J. W., III; IV; VIII.
Taylor, Joshua L., I, 55 (36).
Taylor, President Zachary, I, 78 (56); II; III; VI; VIII.
Techa, a Sioux, IX.
Tee-osh-kay-tay, a Dakota chief, II, 95.
Terry, Gen. Alfred H., VIII, 444.
Terry, Rev. C. M., VI.
Terry, John C., IV.
Thatcher, Mrs., III.
Thibault, Rev. J. B., I, 222 (179).
Thomas, Col. Minor T., VIII.
Thompson, Benjamin, III, 102.
Thompson, D., V; VII; VIII.
Thompson, Horace, IV; IX.
Thompson, J. E., IV; IX.
Thompson, James, VI, 137.
Thompson, Hon. John B., VIII, IX.
Thompson, S., III, 143.
Thompson, Samuel, III, 164.
Throckmorton, Capt. Joseph, VIII.
Tiffin, Edward, II, 198.
Tilden, H. L., IV; IX, 159.
Tioscate, a Dakota, I; II, 95.
Tippery, Jacob, IX.
Titcomb, Charles G., IX.
Tonty, Henry, I; II; V; VI, 70; VII.
Toombs, Hon. Robert, VIII.
Toopunkah-ze-ge, a Dakota, I.
Torinus, Louis, IX, 304.
Tousley, O. V., VI.
Tower, Charlemagne, VIII.
Town, Joseph, VI, 123.
Tozer, David, IX.
Tracy, Charles H., IX, 166.
Tracy, Henry W., IX, 166.
Tracy, Samuel, IX, 357.
Tracy, Hon. Uriah, IX, 493.
Trask, Sylvanus, IX, 151.
Traveling Hail, a Sioux chief, VI.
Trott, Herman, IV.
Truesdell, William A., VII.
Tullis, A. W., IV.
Tully, Family, I, 432 (354); VI, 90.
Turnbull, Peter, VII*; VIII, 219.
Turner, J. Warren, IX, 636.
Turrell, Hon. Orlando B., IX.
Turpin, A., III, 225.
Tuttle, Calvin, VIII, 377; IX, 348.
Tuttle, Rev. J. H., III, 219.
Tweedy, Hon. John H., I.
Twining, W. J., VII, 346.
Tyler, President John, IX, 505.
Tyrrell, Prof. J. B., VIII, 14.
Tyson, Nat., IX.

Uline, C. S., IV.
Upham, Henry P., VIII, 107; IX, 318.
Upham, Warren, VII, 8; VIII; IX.
Uran, Mrs. Madeline, V, 20.

Vail, W. R., I, 60 (40).
Valentine, Capt. Daniel H., VIII, 531.
Van Cleve, Mrs. Charlotte O., I; III; VI; VIII, 446.
Van Cleve, Gen. Horatio P., II, 106; VIII, 447.
Vancouver, George, IX, 501.
Vanderburgh, Hon. Charles E., VIII, 532.
Vanderpool, F., VII.

Vandever, W., III, 292.
VAN ETTEN, ISAAC, IV.
Van Ingen, Rev. J. V., III, 54; IX.
Van Solen, G. L., IV.
Van Vorhes, A., IX, 562.
Varennes, Pierre Gaultier, V, 427.
Verbeck, Miss, VI, 180.
Verendrye, II, 100; V; VII.
Verplanck, Hon. I., V.
Verplanck, J. A., III, 345; IX, 244.
Vervais, Dr. J. A., IV.
Vespuli, Joseph, II, 127.
Von Glahn, Baron, IV, 363.
Von Minden, H., IV.
Vose, Major Josiah H., III, 155.

Wabasha, a Dakota chief, I; II; III; V; VI; VIII; IX.
Wade, James, Jr., II.
Wah-kan-ta-pe, a Dakota chief, I.
Wahk-pa-kootay, a Dakota chief, I, 441 (361).
Wah-ze-koo-tay or Wakute, a Dakota chief, I.
Waight, Rev., I.
Wait, L. B., I, 82 (60).
Wakan-ma-ne, a Sioux, IX, 448.
Wakefield, Hon. James B., IX, 562.
Wakefield, John A., I, 79 (57).
Wakefield, Mrs. Sarah F., III, 35.
Walker, M. O., IV.
Walker, Miss, VI, 180.
Walker, Orange, I; III, 270; IX.
Walking Buffalo, a Dakota chief, I, 380.
Wanata, a Yankton chief, I, 431 (353); V.
Wanzer, Major Charles, VII, 246.
Warner, A. T., VII.
Warren, Abraham, V, 9.
Warren, Charlotte, V.
Warren, Gen. G. K., III, 33; VI; VIII.
WARREN, JOHN ESAIAS, VIII; IX.
Warren, Gen. Joseph, V, 9.
Warren, Lyman, I; II, 132; III, 344; V.
Warren, Lyman M., V.
Warren, Mrs. Lyman M., V.
Warren, Miss Mary, V.
Warren, Richard, V, 9.
Warren, Sophia, V, 12.
Warren, Stephen, V, 9.
Warren, Truman A., V.
Warren, Truman A., Jr., V.
Warren, William Tyler, V, 20.
WARREN, WILLIAM W., V;* I, 346 (284); VII; VIII.
Washburn, Hon. C. C., VI.
Washburn, Hon. E. B., VI.
Washburn, Hon. William D., II; VI; IX, 350.
Wasicute, a Dakota chief, II, 18.
Watkins, John H., II, 180.
Watrous, Hon. John S., V, 14; IX.
Watson, Dr. George, II, 199.
Waucota, a Sioux chief, VIII, 386.
Wau-o-peg, an Ojibway chief, I.
Webb, Isaac W., II, 257.
Webber, Rev., I, 87 (65).
Weeks, Helen C., III, 35.
Welch, Hon. William H., VIII.
Welles, Hon. Henry T., IX.
Wells, Alex, VII, 346.
Wells, Miss, VI, 162.
Wells, James, I, 469 (384); II; III, 248.
Wentworth, Hon. John, I, 61 (40).
West, Miss, VI, 162.
Wharton, Dr. A., IV.
Wheeler, H. W., IX.
Wheeler, Rev. Leonard H., VI.
Wheelock, Hon. Joseph, III; IV; VII; VIII; IX.
Whipple, Abraham, III, 277.
Whipple, Bishop H. B., III; VI; IX.
Whipple, Mercy, V, 9.
Whitcomb, Hon. O. S., VI, 38.
White, Hon. James, IX, 490.
WHITE, MRS. N. D., IX.*
White, Wallace B., IV.
White Cloud, Indian chief, VI, 21.
Whitford, Rev. G., I, 85 (63).

Whitford, Rev. James G., VI.
Whiting, Sam, III, 239.
Whitman, Dr. Marcus, VIII.
Whitney, A. J., III, 316.
Whitney, C. T., IV.
Whitney, J. D., III, 350.
Whitney, Rev. I, 88 (65).
Whittlesey, Charles, II; III.
Whitworth, Richard, II, 283.
Wilcox, Capt. De Lafayette, VI, 97.
Wilcoxson, Rev. T., I, 88 (65); IX.
WILDER, AMHERST H., VIII, 532.
Wilder, Hon. Eli T., IX, 188.
Wiley, R. C., IV.
WILKIN, ALEX., IV;* VIII; IX, 159.
WILKIN, WESTCOTT, VIII; IV.
Wilkinson, Gen. James, IX.
WILKINSON, HON. MORTON S., VIII; I; III, 66; IV; IX.
Willard, J. A., III.
Willey, Dr. Samuel, IV.
Williams, Capt. Arthur, VIII, 430.
Williams, Lieut. E. R., II, 122.
Williams, Rev. E. S., III, 56.
Williams, John, II, 197.
Williams, John J., IV.
WILLIAMS, J. FLETCHER, VIII;* II; III; V; VI; VII;* IX.
Williams, Julia A., IX.
Williams, M. T., II, 199.
Williams, Samuel, II, 199.
Williamson, Andrew W., III.
Williamson, Miss J. S., I, 82 (60); III, 121; VI.
Williamson, Rev. John P., III; VI.
Williamson, Lizzie Hunter, III, 383.
Williamson, Mrs. Margaret, III.
Williamson, Nannie, III, 383.
Williamson, Smith Burgess, III, 383.
WILLLIAMSON, REV. T. S., III; II; IV; VI; IX.
Williamson, Rev. William, III, 372.
Willim, William, I, 61 (40).
WILLIS, CHARLES L.,, IX, 680; VIII, 96.
Willius, Ferdinand, IV.
Willoughby, A., IV.
Wilson, C. L., III, 214.
Wilson, Harvey, I, 79 (57).
Wilson, Hon. Henry, VIII; IX.
Wilson, Hon. James, I, 62 (42); III, 271.
Wilson, Rev. Joseph G., IX.
Wilson, Rev. Robert G., III, 370.
Winchell, Alexander N., VIII.
Winchell, Horace V., VIII.
Winchell, Prof. N. H., III, 350; VII; VIII.
Windom, Hon. William, IX, 601.
Winona, an Indian maiden, II, 24.
Winship, Dr. P. D., VIII, 235.
Winsor, Justin, VII; IX, 239.
Winthrop, Hon. Robert C., I, 483 (394); IX, 584.
WISE, JOHN C., IX, 680.
Witherspoon, John, IX, 514.
Wood, John, II, 121.
Wood, Mrs. Martha B., III, 324.
Wood, William, III.
Wood, William R., II, 121.
Woodbury, Warren, I, 425 (349).
Wool, Gen. John E., II, 138.
Worth, Mrs. Edward, IX, 306.
Wright, Charles, VI, 167.
Wright, Isaac P., IX, 373.
Wright, S. G., VI.
Wulsin, Lucien, VII.

Yale, Mrs. Jane Huntington, IX, 596.
Young, Capt. J. B., VIII.
Young, Rev. S. Hall, VIII.

Zenobe, Pere, I, 29 (11).
ZIMMERMAN, EDWARD, IV.*
Zoe, a Sioux, IX, 448.

INDEX OF VOLUME X.

See the CONTENTS, at the beginning of Parts I and II, for a comprehensive view of the series of Papers and Addresses forming this Volume, and for the order of the subjects treated in the several papers.

Abbott, M. H., 273.
Abercrombie, Col., 198.
Able, Capt. Daniel, 134, 158.
Acker, Henry, 621, 622.
Acker, William H., adjutant general, 844.
Adams, Mrs. Ann, quoted, 641.
Adams, Rev. Moses N., 127, 695.
Afton, 38, 651.
Agassiz, glacial lake, 1.
Agricultural College and School, 364, 376-381.
Agriculture, of the Indians, 467-470, 588.
Ah-kee-pah, a Sioux, 599, 609, 610, 613.
Aillebout, governor of Quebec, 480.
Aiton, Prof. Gearge B., 386.
Aiton, Rev. John F., 167, 170.
Albert Lea, 320, 350.
Algonquian, Indians, 459, 463, 517, 527, 530.
Allouez, Father, 537.
American Board of Foreign Missions, 104, 165, 191, 693.
American Fur Company, 104, 205.
Amerigo Vespucci, 538, 540-542, 558, 561.
Ames, Rev. Charles G., 271, 275, 337.
Ames, Jesse, and John F., 40, 41, 48.
Ames, William L., 437.
Anawag-ma-ne, a Sioux, 605, 612, 613.
Anderson, Bishop, 5.
Andreas, A. T., 579.
Andrews, Gen. C. C., 622, 630, 632.
Arched Rock, 482.
Archibald, miller at Dundas, 41, 48, 52.
Arcola, 651.
Argenson, governor of Quebec, 480, 516, 567.
Argo, steamboat, 667.
Arkansas river, 547, 548, 553.
Armstrong, J. S., 136.
Armstrong, Solon, 643.
Assiniboine Indians, 475, 476, 512, 530, 533, 536, 537, 538.
Atchafalaya river, 549.
Atwater, Hon. Isaac, 260, 261, 275, 373, 635, 776, 820.
Austin, Gov. Horace, 785.
Averill, Hon. John T., 631.
Awatanik, Indian explorer, 513, 517, 536.
Ayer, Rev. Frederick, 182, 187, 695.
Aymond, Capt. Frank, 10.

Babcock, L. A., 254.
Backus, Miss, 354.
Bailly, Alexis, 66, 111, 114, 294.
Baker, D. A. J., 294, 427, 431.
Baker, Gen. James H., 319, 343, 568; Alexander Ramsey, a Memorial eulogy, 723-743; additional remarks, 762-765.
Bald island, 462, 561, 572; see Prairie island.

Baldwin, Rufus J., 635.
Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 541.
Bancroft, John E., 321, 322.
Bancroft, Minn., 230, 341.
Baptism of Indian children, 475, 517, 519.
Barber, Hon. John M., 446.
Barges, Minnesota river, 141, 142, 145, 148, 153, 154, 157, 159, 160.
Barnes, G. S., 19.
Barnes, Oliver W., 446.
Barrett, Gen. T. H., 346.
Barronett, Wis., 653.
Barry, Captain, 195.
Bass, J. W., 418, 424, 431, 435.
Bassett, Joel B., 266.
Bates, Capt. John C., 185.
Bayfield peninsula, 483, 505.
Bayou Manchac, 543, 548, 549, 550, 560.
Bazille, Charles, 418, 428, 434.
Beacom, Lieut. John H., Preface.
Bean, Capt. A. M., 790.
Bean, Reuben, 643.
Beaulieu, Clement, 195, 197, 198.
Beaver Dam, Wis., 653.
Beaver Indians, 473.
Beavers, 464, 467, 471, 505, 510, 516.
Becker, Hon. George L., 427, 435, 620, 737; biographic sketch, 867.
Begg, Alexander, 568.
Behnke, Henry, 784.
Belcourt, Father G. A., 8; 535.
Belden, G. T., 78, 82, 83.
Belden, George H., 199.
Bell, A. J., 72, 73, 74.
Bell, Andrew, 568.
Bell, Capt. Edwin, Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, 91-100; 142, 149, 150, 158, 427, 434.
Bell, Lieut. Edwin, Preface.
Bell, Hon. John, 119, 122, 126.
Belle Plaine, 342, 401, 817.
Belm, Capt. John, 790.
Beltrami, 638.
Benjamin Franklin, steamboat, 137, 158, 160.
Bennett, C. and N. V., 295, 324.
Berkey, Capt. Peter, 294, 428.
Berry, J. C., 643.
Bibliography of Education in Minnesota, 398; of publications concerning Groseilliers and Radisson, 568-594, and Preface.
Biedma, 548, 549, 551.
Bierbauer, Capt. William, 790, 813.
Big Woods, 70.
Bigelow, Charles H., 400, 401
Bigelow, Horace R., 427, 772, 776, 820.
Biographic Sketches: Lt. Gov. William Holcombe, 857-861; Judge Moses Sherburne, 863-866; Deceased members of this Society, 1901-1904, 867-876.
Birch Coulie, battle, 602, 815.
Bishop, Harriet E., 354.
Bishop, Hon. Jesse, 622.
Bishop, Lieut. John F., 815.
Bishop, Gen. Judson W., 339; History of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, 399-415.
Bishop Seabury Mission, 201, 356, 699, 701.
Black, Dalton, 6.
Black Dog's village, 134.
Black Hawk, steamboat, 138, 140, 141, 158, 160.
Black river, Wis., 487.
Blaisdell, C. W., 321.
Blakeley, David, 257; quoted, 341; biographic sketch, 341; 393.
Blakeley, Capt. Russell, 9, 96, 99, 399, 401, 428, 457, 463, 479, 569, 673.
Blanchet, Hon. J., 569, 584.
Blind, school for the, 387, 389.
Bliss, Col. John H., quoted, 639.
Blue Earth City, 411.
Blue Earth river, 126, 559, 681.
Boardman, L. M., 785, 786, 787.

Bois Blanc island, 489, 522.
Bolles, Lemuel, 38.
Bonanza farms, 21.
Boom, the St. Croix, 672, 674.
Borup, C. W. W., 427, 431, 435.
Bottineau, Charles, 12; Pierre, 417, 419.
Boundaries of Minnesota, Eastern, Southern, and Western, by Prof. Alexander N. Winchell, 677-687.
Boundary between Minnesota and Iowa, 61.
Bourier, Peter, 602.
Boutwell, Rev. William T., 191; quoted, 641, 695.
Bowman, George D., 261.
Boyce, John, 648, 658.
Bradley, A. G., 569.
Breck, Rev. James Lloyd, 180, 182, 183, 185, 187, 188, 190, 193, 196, 200, 201, 202, 206, 207, 210, 212, 214, 216, 217; letter, 220; 221, 223, 224, 225, 228, 697, 698.
Breckenridge, Minn., 10, 20, 23, 309.
Breck School, Wilder, 706.
Brendemuehl, Charles, 19.
Brennan, Thomas, 654.
Bridgman, Pres. George H., 356.
Brisbine, Dr. Albert G., 866.
Brodhead, John R., 531, 569, 584.
Bromley, Edward A., 241; Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, 535-643.
Brooke, Gen. George M., 181.
Brott, George F., 312, 315, 316.
Brower, Hon. J. V., 455, 457, 465, 491, 503, 530, 531, 533, 559, 561, 562, 569, 570, 573, 590, 591, 593.
Brown, A. Vance, 436.
Brown, Charles, 282.
Brown, Hon. Joseph R., 66, 111, 114, 115, 252; biographic sketch, 267; 275, 292, 428, 437, 598, 602, 617, 658, 737.
Brown, Orville, 302, 303.
Brown, Samuel J., 595; Biographic Sketch of Chief Gabriel Renville, 614-618.
Brownsville, 281.
Bruns, Henry A., 17, 18, 19.
Brunson, Benjamin W., 418, 420, 425, 428, 431.
Brunson, Ira B., 419, 420.
Bryant, Charles S., 384; cited, 796.
Bryce, Prof. George, 453, 457, 511, 512, 570.
Brymner, Dr. Douglas, 450, 571, 573, 587; biographic sketch, 867.
Buell, Major Salmon A., 778; Judge Flandrau in the Defence of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, 783-818.
Buell, Major Salmon A., personal references, 785, 789, 790, 801, 804, 817, 819.
Buffalo fish, 78.
Buffalo river, 13, 17, 112.
Buffalo Sioux; See *Prairie Sioux.*
Buffaloes, 98, 106, 461, 462, 498, 502, 509, 511, 532.
Buggert, Capt. Lewis, 790.
Bungo, George, 190, 191.
Burbank, J. C., 93, 400, 401, 428, 434, 435.
Burdick, Richard C., biographic sketch, 867.
Burt, Prof. David, 360, 385, 393.
Bush, John, 167.
Butterfield, C. F., 145.

Cabbell, Capt. Samuel G., 143, 158.
Cabeza de Vaca, 544, 545, 546.
Calumet, 493.
Campbell, Henry Colin, 455, 456, 457, 463, 489, 570-573.
Camp Coldwater, 637, 638.
Camp Pope, 100, 152.
Campbell, Major, 5.
Cannon Falls, 298, 325.
Canoes, 133, 514, 536.
Cantino map, 541.
Carey, Hon. John R., 506, 573.

Carimona, 291, 308, 315.
Carleton College, 356.
Carpenter, Mrs. Louisa, 127, 129.
Carver, Capt. H. L., 257.
Carver, Capt. Jonathan, 502, 534.
Carver, Minn., 100, 135, 153, 223, 228.
Castle Rock, 64.
Catholic Church, Beginnings in Minnesota, Rev. Ambrose McNulty, 233-245.
Catlin, Hon. John, 859.
Cavalier, Charles, 4, 5, 7, 10; letter, 32; 418, 423, 424.
Chamberlain, Rev. J. S., 227, 230.
Chamberlain, Selah, 445.
Chambers, Henry, 71, 72, 74.
Chamblin, Capt. A. T., 148.
Champion's Hill, battle of, 846.
Chapel of St. Paul, Rev. Ambrose McNulty, 233-245; 650, 695.
Charleville and Le Sueur, 539, 559.
Charlevoix, historian, 521, 558, 562, 573.
Chaska, Minn., 135, 317.
Chatfield, 38, 42, 301, 302, 308, 339, 350.
Chequamegon bay, 484, 487, 488, 514, 525, 589, 590, 592.
Chesley, Levi, 81.
Chesley, T. B., 75, 76.
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha railway, 413.
Childs, Gen. Henry W., The Life and Work of General Sanborn, 838-856.
Chippewa Indians; see *Ojibways*.
Chippewa river, Wisconsin, 487, 488, 526, 535.
Chouart, Medard, 450, 513, 571. See *Groseilliers*.
Christian, George H., 48, 49, 50.
Christinos, 535; see *Crees*.
Chubb, John H., 71, 81.
Churches, Early Episcopal, in Minnesota, 203-231.
Chute, Richard, 111.
Clark, Major Edwin, 271, 336, 338.
Clark, Hon. Greenleaf, Bishop Whipple as a Citizen of Minnesota, 708-712; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 745-747; Resolutions, 747; The Life and Influence of Judge Flandrau, 771-782; Memorial Address in honor of General Sanborn, 833-837.
Clark, Lieut. Nathan, 37.
Clark, Mrs. Nathan, 203.
Clarke, Francis B., 413.
Clear Lake, Wis., 653.
Cleary, Lieut. James, 807.
Cleveland, Hon. G. K., 628.
Cleveland, Capt. J. R., 145, 147, 148, 158.
Climbing bittersweet, 492.
Cochran, Thomas, 440.
Coffin, Samuel, 787.
Coggswell, Hon. Amos, 621.
Colleges, 353-398; tabular view, 397.
Collegeville, 356.
Columbus, Christopher, 540, 564.
Colvill, Col. William, 280, 324, 332
Connolly, Edward, 20.
Constant, William, 140, 294.
Constitutional Convention, 859, 860, 865.
Conway, Charles R., 433.
Cook, Major Michael, 631.
Cooper, Hon. David, 249, 250, 427.
Cooper, Joseph, 251, 252.
Copper in glacial drift, 504.
Copper mine, Le Sueur's supposed, 121, 126, 132, 136, 559.
Corinth, Battle of, 845.
Corn, in Red river valley, 11; raised by Indians, 467-470, 488.
Cornell, Hon. F. R. E., 777.
Cottage Grove, 209, 221.
Coues, Dr. Elliott, 531.
Council Bluffs, Iowa, 403, 414.
Courte Oreille, Lac, 486, 488, 526, 567, 572, 581, 592.

Cox, Capt. E. St. Julien, 807, 808, 811, 817.
Coxe, Daniel, 557, 558.
Coyne, James H., 573.
Crawford, Charles and Thomas, 599, 602, 603, 610, 612, 613, 615.
Cree Indians, 460, 461, 475, 476, 483, 492, 495, 499, 501, 508, 510, 514, 532, 535-538.
Creighton, Rev. S. T., 315, 316.
Cretin, Bishop Joseph, 234, 240, 242, 243, 244.
Croffut, W. A., 271, 336, 337.
Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, 445-448; locomotive, 448.
Crookston, 23.
Cross, David, 82, 87.
Crow Feather, 195.
Crow River, 504.
Crow Wing, 183, 193, 195, 197, 445.
Crow Wing river, 171, 181; origin of name, 183; 193; 555.
Crump, T. G., 702.
Curly Head, Sioux chief, 109, 110.

Dablon, Jesuit author, 514, 536.
Daggett, Frank, 335.
Dakota Indians, 532; see *Sioux*.
Dalles of the St. Croix, 673.
Dalrymple, Oliver, 21.
Dalrymple farm, 21.
Dalzell, W. Z., 138.
Dana, Gen. N. J. T., 179; letter, 181; 182, 293, 294, 693.
Daniels, Dr. Asa W., 792, 809.
Darlington, Miss S. P., 704.
Dartmouth College, 839.
Daulac, Adam, 515.
Davenport, Iowa, sawmills, 661, 662.
Davidson, Col. J. H., 439, 440.
Davidson, Rev. J. N., 574.
Davidson, Captains P. S. and W. F., 144, 146, 147, 149, 152, 158, 159, 257, 399, 401.
Davis, Hon. C. K., quoted, 617; 737, 777.
Davis, Capt. John B., 146, 158.
Day, Major Hannibal, 185.
Day, Leonard, 643.
Dayton, Lyman, 426, 428, 435, 437.
Dayton and Irvine's Addition, St. Paul, 423, 426.
Deaf, school for the, 387, 389.
Dearborn, S., 82, 83.
DeCamp, Mrs. Jeannette E., 605.
Defectives, Schools for, 387.
DeGraff, Col. Andrew, 447.
Dellaughter, Capt. William, 813.
Denonville, Marquis de, 574, 584.
De Mair, Xavier, 417, 418.
Deppe, Hartwig, Preface.
Desnoyer, Stephen, 418, 422.
De Soto, Hernando, 538, 545-552, 561.
Dewey, Dr. John J., 419.
Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, chaplain of Fort Ripley, 179-202.
Dictionary, Dakota, 176, 535.
Dionne, Narcisse E., 457, 574.
Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River, by Groseilliers and Radisson, 449-594.
Divorce, opinion of Judge Flandrau, 825.
Dodd, Capt. William B., 228, 785, 789, 790, 795, 798, 799, 807.
Dollard, Adam, 515.
Donnelly, Hon. Ignatius, 52, 319, 623, 737.
Dorr, Caleb D., 297.
Doty, Gov. James D., Treaty at Traverse des Sioux, 101, 119-126.
Douglas, James and John, 18.
Dousman, H. L., 111, 114.
Dow, Dr. J. J., 388.
Dow, James C., 294, 295.
Drake, Hon. Elias F., 400, 401, 404, 413, 447.
Draper, Lyman C., 338.
Driscoll, Frederick, 257, 258.

Drummond, Wis., 652.
Dugas, L'Abbe G., 574.
Du Luth, Daniel Greyselon, 455, 501, 513, 531, 532, 537, 538, 539, 554, 565.
Duluth, flour manufacture, 44, 50, 53, 54; normal school, 367.
Dundas, flour mills, 41.
Dunn, Dr. James H., obituary sketch, 868.
Dunnell, Hon. Mark H., 365, 393.
Dunwoody, Hon. William H., 53.
Durant, Capt. Edward W., on the Minnesota river, 157, 160; Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River, 645-675; personal references, 658, 666, 670, 671.
Dye, Walter G., 285, 286.

Early Episcopal churches and missions in Minnesota, Rev. Geo. C. Tanner, 203-231.
Early Government Land Surveys in Minnesota west of the Mississippi River, Hon. Thomas Simpson, 57-67.
Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, Capt. Edwin Bell, 91-100.
Eckstein, Hon. Joseph A., Memorial Address in honor of Judge Flandrau, 829-830.
Edgar, W. C., 49.
Edgerton, Hon. Alonzo J., 631.
Editors and newspapers in the Territorial period, 247-351.
Education in Minnesota, History, by Prof. David L. Kiehle, 353-398.
Elevators, wheat, 27.
Elk River, 38.
Ellice, Hon. Edward, 3.
Ellis, Henry, 574.
Elvas, Gentleman of, 546.
Emerling, George, 9, 17.
Emerson, Charles L., 256, 435.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, quoted, 838.
Emmett, Judge Lafayette, 822.
E-nee-hah, a Sioux, 599, 611.
Enmegahbowh, 183, 184, 188, 190, 195, 201, 206, 214.
Ensign, Willard H., 81, 84.
Episcopal missions, 188; schools, 196, 200, 697-707; Early Churches and Missions in Minnesota, 203-231.
Espiritu Santo, Rio del, 544, 551, 557.
Ether, Vere, 12.
Evans, Major E. P., 152.
Excelsior, steamboat, 137, 158, 161, 162.
Experimental farm, 379.
Explosion, Minneapolis flour mills, in 1878, 51.

Fairchild, Henry S., Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul, 417-443; personal reference, 439; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 758-760.
Famine of winter of 1659-60, 487-490, 493, 517.
Fargo, N. D., 10, 12, 13, 23.
Faribault, Alexander, 47, 66, 104, 112, 201, 202, 683, 701.
Faribault, David, 418, 421, 613.
Faribault, flour mills, 48; schools of the Episcopal Church, 196, 200, 697-707; 201, 230; newspapers, 302; 306; 356, 699.
Farmers, pioneer, in Red River valley, 12, 19.
Farmers' Alliance, 26.
Farrington, Col. John, 428, 435.
Feast of the dead, 488, 494, 496-501, 531.
Fillmore, Millard, and C. D., 114, 140.
Finkle, H. G., 18, 19.
First Railroad in Minnesota, 445-448.

Fisher, Louis F., 269.
Fiske, John, quoted, 468, 540, 541, 559; obituary sketch, 868.
Five Million Loan to Railroads, 445, 628, 732, 823.
Flandrau, Judge Charles E., 428, 575; The Work of Bishop Whipple in Missions for the Indians, 691-696; 737.
Flandrau, Judge, Memorial Addresses in his Honor, 767-830; in the Defence of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, 783-818; his published writings, 780; obituary sketch, 868.
Fletcher, Hon. Loren, 43.
Florida, 541, 542, 544, 546, 556.
Flour Manufacture in Minnesota, History, 35-55.
Flouring mills, Red river valley, 7, 18; Minnesota, 35-55; falls of St. Anthony, 635-643.
Folsom, Hon. Simeon P., 419, 428.
Folsom, William H. C., 575, 651, 658, 671, 672, 673.
Folwell, Prof. William W., 373, 379, 384, 393, 716.
Forbes, William H., 111, 418, 424, 434, 435, 605, 683.
Ford, Dr. John D., 366, 367.
Forked river, 478.
Fort Abercrombie, 9, 19, 20, 199, 599.
Fort Crawford, 204.
Fort Gaines, 182, 220.
Fort Garry, 5, 6, 9, 94, 97.
Fort Ridgely, 139, 140, 142, 148, 182, 198, 598, 599, 602, 604, 814, 816.
Fort Ripley, 171, 172; History, 1849 to 1859, based on the Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, Chaplain of this Post, 179-202; 214, 220.
Fort Snelling, 103, 115, 118, 133, 135, 203, 211, 236, 609, 610.
Fortier, Prof. Alcee, 560.
Foster, Dr. Thomas, 103, 110, 114, 263, 264, 428.
Fournier, Alexis, 241.
Fox Indians, 534, 535.
Fox River, 462, 464, 522, 552.
Franconia, 651.
Franquelin, J. B., 513, 526, 536, 576.
Freight rates, 15, 25-28, 646.
Freighter, steamboat, 146, 148, 158, 161, 163.
French, B. F., 553.
French, Parker H., 304, 305.
French, Theodore, 840, 841.
Fridley, Major, 243.
Frontenac, Minn., 233.
Fuller, Alpheus G., obituary sketch, 868.
Fur trade, 2, 3, 104, 149, 461, 467, 516, 591.

Gaines, Gen. Edmund P., 182.
Galena, 504.
Galtier, Rev. Lucien, 233, 235; letter, 236, 239; 417, 695.
Gardner, miller at Hastings, 41, 52.
Garneau, Francois X., 576.
Garvie, Stewart B., 597.
Gary, George, 577.
Gear, Rev. Ezekiel G., 182, 185, 203-231.
George, Paul R., 841, 842.
George, Capt. S. A., 789, 790.
Georgetown, 12, 13, 14, 17, 94.
Gere, Capt. Thomas P., 406.
Gerlach, Capt. William, Preface.
Gervais, Benjamin, 38, 237, 417.
Gibson, Gen. George, 37, 640.
Gilbert, Bishop M. N., 706.
Gilfillan, Hon. Charles D., 287, 620; obituary sketch, 869.
Gilfillan, Hon. James, 777.
Gilfillan, Rev. Joseph A., 197, 530.
Gilman, Hon. John M., 777.
Glacial period, 1, 131, 470.
Glencoe, 72, 73, 75, 84, 327, 350, 378.
Glenmont mill, 651.
Glyndon, 16.
Godfrey, Ard, 38.
Goldsmith, Julius M., obituary sketch, 869.

Good Thunder, a Sioux, 605, 612, 613.
Goodhue, Isaac N., 248, 253.
Goodhue, James M., 107, 109, 111, 137, 247-253, 275, 440, 643, 762, 763.
Goodrich, Aaron, 435.
Goodrich, Earle S., 256, 257, 268, 275, 343, 427.
Goose rapids, Red river, 94-96.
Gooseberry river, 513, 576.
Gorman, Gov. Willis A., 66, 189, 277, 428.
Gosnell, William, 78, 79, 88.
Government Land Surveys, 57-67.
Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, Edward A. Bromley, 635-643 .
Grace, Bishop Thomas L., 244.
Graham, Alexander, 104.
Grand Forks, N. D., 10, 23.
Grand Portal, 482.
Grandin farm, 22.
Grangers, 40.
Grant, Charles, 12.
Grant, Capt. Hiram P., 815.
Grant, Hon. William H., obituary sketch, 869.
Grasshoppers, 3, 7, 15, 76, 407-411.
Gray, W. D., 49, 51.
Gray Cloud island, 464, 570.
Great Northern railway, 20, 445.
Greek Slave, steamboat, 139, 140, 158, 161, 163.
Greeley, Elam, 208, 650.
Greeley, Horace, letter, 52.
Green, James J., 340.
Green bay, 458, 462, 463, 522.
Greenleaf, Rev. E. A., 208, 209, 212.
Grinnell, George B., 528.
Grist mills; see *Flouring Mills*
Groseilliers, Sieur des (Medard Chouart), biographic sketch, 450; origin of titled name, 450, 513, 571; river supposed to be named for him, 513, 576; of Roman Catholic church, 519.
Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-56, and 1659-60, and their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River, Warren Upham, 449-594.
Guerin, Leon, 577.
Guerin, Vital, 220, 237, 239, 417, 423, 424, 427, 428, 434.
Gull lake, missions, 182, 183, 188-190.
Gunn, Rev. D. G., 706.

Hail, 15.
Hale, Dr. Edward E., 617.
Hale, Horatio, 520, 534.
Half-breeds, 4, 6.
Hall, Capt. Charles W., Preface.
Hall, Harlan P., 257, 440.
Hall, Capt. W. P., 138, 158.
Hall, Hon. William Sprigg, 624.
Hamilton, George A., 400, 401.
Hamilton, Peter J., 560.
Hamline University, 355.
Hancock, Rev. Joseph W., Missionary Work at Red Wing, 1849 to 1852, 165-178.
Hanks, Stephen B., 649, 658, 666.
Haraszthy, Count, 650, 667.
Hargrave, J. J., 4.
Harriman, Gen. Samuel, 654, 659.
Harrington, Capt. Lewis, 71, 73, 74, 79, 82.
Harris, Capt. D. S., 139, 158.
Harris, Capt. M. K., 136, 158.
Harris, Capt. R. S., 663, 667.
Harrisse, Henry, 542, 543, 551, 576.
Hartshorn, William, 111, 418, 419, 420.
Hassan river, 71, 72, 74, 76, 78.
Hastings, flour mills, 41, 44; early church, 229; newspapers, 294, 326, 349.
Hawley, 16.
Hayden, William G., 790.
Hayes, President R. B., 736.

Hayes, Simeon Mills, Biographic Sketch of Judge Moses Sherburne, 863-866.
Hazelwood Mission, 600, 601.
Heard, I. V. D., cited, 601, 788, 816, 817.
Hebbard, S. S., 577.
Henderson, Minn., 292, 295, 610.
Hennepin, Father Louis, 455, 531, 532, 533, 539, 554, 565.
Henniss, Charles J., 254, 256, 259, 291.
Henrietta, steamboat, 157, 161, 163.
Herriman, Major, 189, 197.
Hershey, Benjamin, 657, 661.
Hershey, Jacob, 661.
Hewitt, Col. Girard, 438.
Hiawatha, Song of, 488.
Hill, Alfred J., 457, 503, 525, 531, 533, 561, 569, 577, 586; Preface.
Hill, James J., 10, 241, 430, 737.
Hinckley, saw mills, 654.
History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley, Hon. George N. Lamphere, 1-33; of Flour Manufacture in Minnesota, Col. George D. Rogers, 35-55; of Hutchinson, Hon. William W. Pendergast, 69-89; of Steamboating on the Minnesota River, Thomas Hughes, 131-163; of Fort Ripley, based on the Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, 179-202, of Education in Minnesota, Prof. David L. Kiehle, 353-398; of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, Gen. Judson W. Bishop, 399-415; of Real Estate in St. Paul, Henry S. Fairchild, 417-443.
Hoag, Charles, 261.
Hoag, R. A., 299, 326, 349.
Hokah, 319.
Holcombe, E. V., and E. R., 861.
Holcombe, R. I., 595, 619; quoted, 849.
Holcombe, Rev. Theodore I., 188, 215.
Holcombe, Lt. Gov. William, 623; Biographic Sketch, by Mrs. Andrew E. Kilpatrick, 857-861.
Hole-in-the-Day, 183, 188, 195, 206.
Holes, James, 14, 15.
Holley, Hon. Henry W., 302, 303.
Hollinshead, William, 427, 435.
Holmes, Capt. H. W., 154, 159.
Hopkins, Robert, 104, 127, 135.
Hopper, Lieut. Andrew A., 78, 79, 82, 83.
Horsford, Miss, 354.
Hosmer, Dr. James K., 577; Preface.
Hospes, Louis, 655.
Hotchkiss, W. Augustus, 266, 275.
Houghton, Capt. George, 153, 158.
Howard, Joseph J., obituary sketch, 869.
Hoxie, Mrs. Vinnie Ream, Memorial address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 761.
Hoyt, B. F., 431, 433, 435.
Hubbard, Gen. Lucius F., 331, 332, 814; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 748-750.
Hudson, Wis., 651.
Hudson Bay, 508-513, 536, 570, 574.
Hudson Bay Company, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 17, 452, 453, 563, 567, 568, 570, 577, 585, 592.
Huey, George E., 636, 643.
Huey, Lieut. William, 794, 796, 807, 814.
Huggins, Alexander G., 104, 111, 127, 133, 135.
Hughes, Thomas, The Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, under Governor Ramsey, with Notes of the former Treaty there, in 1841, under Governor Doty, of Wisconsin, 101-129; History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River, 131-163; 764.
Humbertson, Capt. Samuel, 139, 140, 158.
Humboldt, Alexander, 541.

Humboldt, steamboat, 140, 142, 158, 161.
Hunnewil, Mrs. Elizabeth C., 707.
Huron Indians, 458, 460, 462, 463, 469, 471, 475, 487, 488, 489, 496, 522-526.
Hutchinson, E. R., 14, 16, 17.
Hutchinson, Asa, John, and Judson, family of singers, 69-74.
Hutchinson, Sketches of the History of, by Hon. William W. Pendergast, 69-89.
Hutchinson Guards, 79, 82, 87.
Hyrorum Rapids, 313.

Iberville, 557, 559; river, 560.
Ice age, 1, 131, 470.
Ice in Lake Superior, 506-508.
Illinois Indians, 469, 475, 476, 518.
Illinois river, 478, 522, 557.
Illinois Territory, 679.
Immigration, Red river valley, 1-33; Minnesota valley, 116-118, 137; 289.
Indian corn, 467-470, 488, 493, 505, 522, 566, 588.
Indian Peace Commission, 850-851.
Indian Summer, 218.
Indiana Territory, 679.
Indians; see *Assiniboines, Crees, Hurons, Iroquois, Ojibways, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Sioux, Winnebagoes,* etc.
Inkpaduta, Sioux chief, 775.
International, steamboat, 10, 13.
Iowa Indians, 523.
Iowa lands ceded in Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 112.
Iowa Territory and State, 681.
Ireland, Archbishop John, 555, 737; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 754.
Iroquois Indians, 451, 457, 467, 469, 471, 473, 481, 514, 515, 520-522.
Irvine, B. F., 433.
Irvine, John R., 16, 418, 422, 423, 434, 435.
Isanti or Knife Sioux, 455, 491, 492, 531, 534.
Isle Pelée, 462, 465, 523, 561, 571, 572, 590.
Isle Royale, 483.
Iuka, battle, 845.
Izatys, 531, 537.

Jackson, Henry, 111, 138, 210, 239, 418, 419, 424, 425.
Jeannette Roberts, steamboat, 144-150, 152, 158, 161, 163.
Jenny Lind, steamboat, 139, 158, 161.
Jeremie, Noel, 512, 575, 578, 589.
Jesuit missions, 451, 526, 527.
Jesuit Relations, cited, 455, 474, 512, 513, 514, 517, 530, 536, 552, 578, 592.
Jesuits, Journal, cited, 519.
Jewett, Frank G., 87.
Jewett's Falls, Wis., 653.
John, Rev. D. C., 356, 393.
Johnson, Rev. John; see *Enmegahbowh.*
Johnson, Gen. R. W., 641.
Johnston, Daniel S. B., Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period, 247-351; as an editor, 260, 261, 262; cured of townsite fever, 309.
Joliet and Marquette, 539, 553, 561, 565.
Jones, William Ashley, 273.
Journalism in the Territorial Period, 247-351.
Judson, Prof. Harry P., 383.
Julia, steamboat, 153, 155.

Kaposia, 294.
Kassenborg, A. G., 14.
Kathio, recent origin of the name, 531.
Kearcher, John, 42.
Keating, Prof. William H., 638.
Keep, Capt. O. D., 144, 158.

Kelly, Dudley, and Patrick H., 94, 98.
Kemper, Bishop Jackson, 182, 189, 196, 201, 207, 209, 212, 222, 223, 224, 228, 692, 693, 701.
Kenny, John L., 408.
Kerr, Prof. Robert F., 579.
Keweenaw peninsula, 482, 514, 523.
Keystone farm, 22.
Kiefer, Hon. Andrew R., 288.
Kiehle, Prof. David L., History of Education in Minnesota, 353-398; personal references, 380, 383, 385-393, 394, and Preface.
Kilpatrick Mrs. Andrew E., Biographic Sketch of Lt. Gov. William Holcombe, 857-861.
King, Charles, 851.
King, Hon. William S., 257, 266, 271, 337, 348.
Kingsbury, D. L., 307.
Kingsford, William, 579, 580.
Kirk, Thomas H., 580.
Kirke, John, 452, 568.
Kittson, Norman W., 4 ,5, 10, 98, 435.
Knife lake and river, 455, 491, 492, 531, 567.
Knife Sioux; see *Isanti.*
Knight, Dr. George H., 388.
Knott, Hon. Proctor, 842.
Kragnes, A. O., 14.
Kruger, Lieut. William E., 637.

La Croix, Edmund N., and Nicholas, 45, 47-49.
La Fayette, 16, 17.
La Framboise, Joseph, 112, 601, 611, 613.
Labissonniere, Joseph and Isaac, 238, 650, 673.
Lac Courte Oreille, 486, 488, 491, 526, 567, 572, 581, 592.
Lac qui Parle, 133, 613.
La Harpe, quoted, 560, 561.
Lake Agassiz, 1.
Lake City, 311.
Lake Huron, 458, 480.
Lake Michigan, 459.
Lake Minnetonka, 43.
Lake of the Woods, 512.
Lake Pepin, 523, 552, 572, 590, 663, 670.
Lake Superior, 458, 463, 481, 493, 505, 508, 630.
Lake Winnebago, 463.
Lake Winnipeg, 511, 512, 536.
Lakeland mills, 651.
Lalemant, Rev. Jerome, 517.
Lamb, John and Patrick H., 19.
Lambert, David, 425, 428, 433.
Lambert, H. A., 216, 217, 224.
Lamphere, Hon. George N., History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley, 1-33.
Lamson, Nathan, and Chauncey, 88.
Land grants, to aid education, 357, 358, 371, 375, 377, 378, 731; for railroads, 399, 402, 628.
Langdon, 91.
Langford, Nathaniel P., 427.
Lapham, Dr. Increase A., Preface.
Laramie, Louis, 127.
Larpenteur, A. L., 32, 91, 294, 418, 423, 424, 427, 435, 673; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 760.
Larson, Nels, 13.
La Salle, 532, 539, 554, 556-558.
Laut, Agnes C., 580; Preface.
Laval, Bishop, 519.
Law department of the State University, 381, 396.
Lawrence, Lorenzo, 605.
Lea, Col. Luke, 103, 109, 110, 111, 137, 763.
Leaf river, 191.
Leavenworth, Col. Henry, 534, 637.
Le Claire, Michael, 437.
Le Duc, Gen. William G., 111, 241, 294, 423, 426, 427; letter, 437; 762, 763; Preface.

Le Sueur, Pierre Charles, supposed copper mine, 126, 132, 136; influence with the Indians, 501, 504; 533, 534, 538, 539, 558-560, 561.
Leech, Samuel, 428.
Leech Lake, 191, 197.
Legislature, Work of the Second State, by Gen. John B. Sanborn, 619-633; 833-835, 843, 844.
Legler, Henry E., 580.
Lemars, Iowa, 405.
Lewis, Prof. John H., 364, 367, 393.
Lewis, Hon. Warner, 61, 62.
Libraries, of public schools, 361.
Lighthouses on Lake Superior, 630.
Lightner, William H., Judge Flandrau as a Citizen and Jurist, 819-828.
Lincoln, President, 623, 714, 733, 846.
Lincoln, John F., 401, 406.
Little, Henry L., 49.
Little Canada, 38.
Little Crow, 88, 599, 603, 607, 618, 797.
Little Falls, 194, 197, 304.
Little Paul, a Sioux, 601, 603, 613.
Little rapids, Minnesota river, 139, 141, 153.
Livres Tournois, 452, 516, 517, 519.
Lockhart farm, 22.
Locusts; see *Grasshoppers*.
Lodwick, Capt. M. W., 667.
Log booms, St. Croix river, 672.
Log rafts, 649, 663-665.
Logs and lumber, statistics for St. Croix valley, 673-675.
Long, Major Stephen H., 638.
Long Prairie, 169, 170, 528.
Long Prairie river, 171.
Long Sault, Ottawa river, 474, 515.
Longfellow, Henry W., 488.
Loomis, David B., 651.
Loras, Bishop Mathias, 234, 236, 240; letter, 235.
Loring, Hon. Charles M., 43.
Lott, Bushrod W., 428, 433.
Louisiana, named by La Salle, 555, 556.
Louisiana Purchase, 556, 560, 678.
Lower Sioux Agency, 139, 140, 602.
Lowrie, Gen. Sam, 345.
Lowry, Rev. David, 169.
Loyal Legion, 852, 853.
Lucas, C. P., 581.
Ludden, Hon. John D., 658, 659.
Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River, Capt. Edward W. Durant, 645-675.
Luverne, 411.
Lynd, Hon. James W., 292.

McBoal, James, 423.
McCaskey, Capt. William S., 185.
McCauley, Hon. David, 19.
McClellan, Gen. George B., 66, 710, 718.
McClung, Col. J. W., cited, 36, 52; eulogist of St. Paul, 439.
McCormick, Hon. Robert L., 581.
McEwen, Howard, 80, 82, 83.
McGill, Gov. Andrew R., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 750-753.
McKay, James, 11.
McKay, Joseph, 95.
McKean, Elias, 650, 658.
McKenty, Henry, 438.
McKusick, John, 208, 649, 658.
McLaren, Gen. Robert N., 631.
McLean, Nathaniel, 111, 114, 253, 254, 276, 427.
McLeod, Alex. R., 418, 420.
McLeod, George A., 133.
McLeod, Martin, 111, 114.
McNulty, Rev. Ambrose, The Chapel of St. Paul, and Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota, 233-245.
McTavish, Governor, 97.
Macalester College, 355; Contributions, 583.

Mackinaw, 458, 522, 525.
Mackinaw boats, 132.
Maginnis, Hon. Martin, 324.
Mail routes, 9, 78, Stations in the Red river valley, 9.
Maine, 863-865.
Maize; see *Indian corn.*
Malmros, Gen. Oscar, 79.
Manchac, Bayou, 543, 548, 549, 550, 560.
Manitoba, 16, 18, 19, 512, 536.
Manitowab, Ojibway convert, 201, 202.
Mankato, flour mills, 36, 44, 50; 118, 135, 138, 150, 151, 230, 318; normal school, 367; railroad building, 403; in the Sioux outbreak, 609, 610, 810, 816.
Mankato, steamboat, 152.
Mann, Hon. H. E., 621, 622.
Manney, Rev. Solon W., Diary at Fort Ripley, 179-202; 698.
Mansfield, Prof. Edward D., 60.
Mansfield, Col. Jared, 58, 63.
Mantorville, 321, 350.
Manufactures, flour, 35-55.
Maps by Nicollet, 64; of discovery of the Mississippi river, 541, 542, 550, 551, 554, 555, 557, 558, 560.
Margry Papers, cited, 531, 537, 557, 559.
Marine, saw mills, 650, 657.
Marion, Vereck, 5.
Marmette, Joseph, 576.
Marpiya-wicasta, a Sioux, 600.
Marquette, Father Jacques, 539, 553, 561, 565, 591.
Marriage, opinion of Judge Flandrau, 825.
Marsh, Capt., surveyor, 61.
Marsh, Capt. John S., 79, 811, 815.
Marshall, Gov. William R., 257, 264, 270, 373, 426, 428, 683.
Martin, Capt. John, 657.
Martin, Sarah G., and Deborah B., 581.
Marvin, Richard, obituary sketch, 870.
Maskoutens, Indians, 456.
Mason, Robert M., 705.
Maxwell, Capt. O. H., 158.
Mayer, Frank Blackwell, 107, 112.
Mayn, John, 9.
Mayville, N. D., 22.
Maza-ku-ta-ma-ne, a Sioux, 601.
Mazo-ma-ne, a Sioux, 598, 599, 600, 606.
Medawakanton, Sioux, 101, 113, 177, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 606.
Medicine, department of State University, 381, 396.
Meeker, Judge B. B., 373, 642.
Memorial Addresses in honor of Bishop Henry B. Whipple, 689-720; of Governor Alexander Ramsey, 721-766; of Judge Chas. E. Flandrau, 767-830; of General John B. Sanborn, 831-856.
Menard, Father, 519, 572.
Mendota, Treaty, 101, 112, 114, 177; church, 235; 294.
Mennonite immigrants, 16, 19.
Menominee Indians, 487, 491, 523, 572.
Meridians, of land surveys, 59, 60, 62, 63.
Merriam, Hon. John L., 400, 401, 403, 408, 413.
Merrick, Rev. J. A., 210, 211, 215, 217, 221, 223, 697.
Merrill, Rev. E. W., 369, 393.
Merriman, Hon. O. C., 371.
Merritt, Dan. S., 280, 281, 296, 324.
Messer, B. E., 71, 73.
Metcalf, Tracy M., 440.
Mexico, Gulf of, 456, 460, 479, 532, 541, 571.
Michigan Territory, 679, 680.
Millard, Dr. Perry H., 381.
Mille Lacs, 531, 534, 554.
Mills, James, 268.

Mills, Old Government, at the Falls of St. Anthony, Edward A. Bromley, 635-643.
Mills; see *Flouring Mills, Sawmills, Windmills.*
Minneapolis, flour mills, 39, 45, 48-55; mill explosion, in 1878, 51; early churches, 215, 218; origin of name, 261, 262; early journalism, 260-351.
Minnehaha falls, 637.
Minnesota, greatness of resources, 32; History of Flour Manufacture, 35-55; Surveys, early, west of the Mississippi River, 57-67; Early Episcopal Churches and Missions, 203-231; Journalism in the Territorial Period, 247-351; History of Education, 353-398; First Railroad, 445-448; Eastern, Southern, and Western Boundaries, 677-687.
Minnesota Historical Society, 245, 265; donors for building lots, 1856, 293; 642, 741, 752, 833, 852.
Minnesota river, Early Steamboating, 91-100; History of Steamboating, 131-163; importance, 401; 596, 609, 611.
Minnetonka Mills, 43.
Minnie Wills, steamboat, 665.
Mission Creek, saw mill, 657.
Missionary Work at Red Wing, 1849 to 1852, Rev. Joseph W. Hancock, 165-178.
Missions, Early Episcopal, 203-231; Jesuit, 451, 526, 527; Work of Bishop Whipple for the Indians, 691-696.
Mississippi River, Progress of Discovery, from 1498, 538-561.
Mississippi River, Upper, Discovery by Groseilliers and Radisson, 449-594.
Mississippi River Commission, 550, 558.
Missouri, Gen. John B. Sanborn in, 847-850.
Mitchell, Alexander, 250, 251.
Mitchell, Hon. William, 621, 632.
Mobile bay and river, 544.
Moffet, Lot, 435.
Moline, Ill., saw mills, 660.
Mollie Mohler, steamboat, 153, 154, 155, 159, 162, 401.
Mondamin, 468.
Monroe, Capt. James, 115, 134, 139, 763.
Monticello, 307, 315.
Montreal 474, 515.
Monument, proposed, on site of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 129; in New Ulm, commemorating the Sioux War, 830.
Moore, Charles, 582.
Moore, George W., 263.
Moorhead, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 23; normal school, 367.
Morgan, Andrew J., 277, 278.
Morgan, Junius, 703.
Morgan, Lewis H., 521, 522.
Morrison, Andrew, 582.
Morrison, George, 4.
Moscoso, Luis de, 547, 549.
Moss, Hon. Henry L., 857; quoted, 859; obituary sketch, 870.
Moss, Mrs. H. L., 354.
Mott, R. A., 306, 388.
Mosquitoes, 137, 172.
Mower, Martin, and John E., 651, 658, 671, 672.
Murphey, Agent, 92, 93.
Murray, Donald, 5.
Murray, Hon. William P., 32, 252, 291, 422, 428, 433, 435.
Muscatine, Iowa, saw mills, 661.
Muscoda, 16.
Myrick, Andrew G., 141.
Myrick, Frank C., 11.
Myrick, Nathan, 428.

Nadoneceronons (Sioux), 460, 491, 493, 519, 530, 532.

Nadouesiouek (Sioux), 475, 518 530, 531, 537.
Narvaez, Pamphilo de, 538, 544, 561.
Neche, N. D., 10, 12.
Neff, Peter, obituary sketch, 870.
Neill, Rev. Edward D., 187, 355, 357, 358, 361, 370, 373, 384, 393, 427, 457, 531, 582-584, 627, 635, 640, 642, 770, 771.
Nelson, C. N., 658.
Nelson, Hon. R. R., 216, 294, 427, 433; obituary sketch, 870.
Nelson, Socrates, 373.
Nettleton, Hon. William, 630.
Neumann, Mrs., 605.
Nevada, 820.
Neville, Ella H., 584.
New Hampshire, 856.
New Richmond, Wis., 653.
New Ulm, flour mills, 39, 44, 50; 156; newspaper, 343; early white men there, 502, 503; in the Sioux Outbreak, 609; Judge Flandrau in the Defense of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, by Major Salmon A. Buell, 783-818; Tribute to the memory of Judge Flandrau, by Hon. Joseph A. Eckstein, 829-830.
Newson, Thomas M., 265, 270, 276, 440.
Newspaper comments on the Doty treaty, 119-126.
Newspapers in the Territorial period, 247-351.
Nicolet, Jean, 481, 495, 501, 528, 530, 552.
Nicollet, Joseph N., 64.
Nicols, John, 371.
Nininger, 319.
Nobles, M. V., and W. H., 651.
Nominee, steamboat, 135, 158, 162, 211.
Normal schools, 366, 393, 394, 395, 397, 627.
Norris, Elisha S., 62.
North, John W., 40, 427.
Northern Pacific railroad, 14, 17, 20, 21, 66.
Northfield, flour mills, 38, 40, 44; newspaper, 349; 356.
Northrop, Pres. Cyrus, 374. 393.
Northup, Anson, 10, 17; steamboat, 94.
Northwest Fur Company, 2, 3,
Northwest Territory, 678, 682.
Noyes, Dr. J. L., 388.

Oakes, Charles H., 427, 435.
Oakport, 13.
Obituary Sketches of Deceased Members, 1901-1904, 867-876.
O'Callaghan, E. B., 584, 585.
Odell, Thomas J., pilot, 134.
Officer, Harvey, 220.
Ogden, Prof. John, 367, 393.
Ogg, Frederick A., 560, 585.
Ojibways, 131, 183; St. Columba mission, 188-190; 198, 225, 417; as described by Radisson, 473, 480, 481, 502, 505, 523, 528-530; treaty ceding the Red River Valley, 630; 693, 713-715, 774.
Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, Edward A. Bromley, 635-643.
Oldenburg, Henry, 575, 585.
Oldmixon, John, 512, 585.
Olivier, John B., 621, 632.
Olmstead, S. Baldwin, 183, 194, 197.
Olmsted, David, 256, 258, 269, 276, 291, 422, 427.
Olsen, Prof. John W., 364, 393.
Onondaga Indians, 457, 566.
Ontonagon river, 514.
Ordinance of 1787, 678, 679.
Oronoco, 307.
Orthwein, Friedrich, 287, 288, 317.
Osceola, Wis., 651.
Other Day, John, 79, 597.

Ottawa Indians, 458, 462, 463, 473, 486, 487, 489, 492, 506, 507, 522, 523, 526-528.
Ottawa river, 458, 473, 474, 480, 521, 527.
Otter Tail lake, 191.
Outagami (Fox) Indians, 534, 535.
Outbreak, 1862; see *Sioux Outbreak.*
Owatonna, 36, 298.
Owens, John P., 253, 254, 255, 263, 276; quoted, 329; 428.
Ox train, 98.

Painter, Prof. C. C., 616, 617.
Palmyra, steamboat, 648, 666.
Panoestigons (Ojibways), 473, 529.
Panuco river, 543, 544, 549, 550, 551, 556.
Parallels, of land surveys, 60.
Parker, Sir Gilbert, 586.
Parker, Lucius N., 71.
Parkman, Francis, 526, 557, 586.
Parkman Club, 571, 572, 586.
Parrant, Pierre, 417, 418, 437.
Parvin, Hon. Theodore S., obituary sketch, 871.
Patch, Edward, 297.
Paterson, Rev. A. B., 431, 692, 693.
Pattee, Dean W. S., 381.
Patten, Major George W., 185, 196, 198, 199.
Payne, Daniel L., 262.
Peace Commission, Services of Gen. John B. Sanborn, 850.
Peake, Rev. E. Steele, 187, 194, 196, 197, 229, 230, 698.
Pearce, Milton M., 340, 349.
Peavey, Frank H., obituary sketch, 871.
Pedagogy department of the State University, 381.
Peet, Emerson W., obituary sketch, 871.
Pelicans, 461, 462.
Pelon, Louis, pilot, 134.
Pemberton, Gen. John C., 148.
Pembina, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 23, 32.
Pembina river, 11.
Pemmican, 5.
Pendergast, Roswell H., 71, 74, 76.
Pendergast, Solomon, and T. H., 75, 78, 81.
Pendergast, Hon. William W., Sketches of the History of Hutchinson, 69-89; superintendent of public instruction, 364, 380, 393.
Penicaut, quoted, 560, 561, 562.
Penn, William, treaty by, 729, 762, 765.
Pepin, Lake, 523, 552, 573, 590, 663, 670.
Pepys, Samuel, 449.
Perkins, T. H., 43.
Perrot, Nicolas, 476, 487, 501, 523, 525, 532, 537, 538, 572, 586, 594.
Pfaender, Hon. William, 344, 632.
Phelps, Prof. William F., 367, 393.
Phelps, W. W., 280, 295, 324, 325.
Phillips, Martin, 284, 285.
Phillips, W. D., 427, 433.
Pierce, President Franklin, 865.
Pierce, Hon. James O., Preface.
Pierce, Lieut. Oliver, 79, 82, 87.
Pierce, Squire L., 323.
Pierz, Father, 187.
Pike, Lieut. Z. M., 534, 559.
Pillsbury, Hon. Charles A., 41, 48, 49.
Pillsbury, Gov. John S., 371, 372, 377, 379, 737; obituary sketch, 871.
Pillsbury flour mills, 44, 50.
Pilots of rafts and steamboats, 664, 666.
Pineda, 538, 542-544, 561.
Pinzon and Solis, 538, 541.
Pioneer, St. Paul, and Pioneer Press, 247-252, 257, 275, 440, 642.
Pioneer lumbermen, 658.
Point Douglas, 652.
Poll list, St. Anthony, 296.

Pomroy, Jesse H., 182, 418.
Ponce de Leon, 542.
Poncin, Peter, 16.
Pond, Mrs. Grace C., 127.
Pond, Rev. Gideon H., 168, 169, 256.
Pond, Rev. Samuel W., 135, 150, 168.
Pontchartrain, Lake, 543, 549, 550, 552, 560, 677.
Pope, Rev. William C., The Work of Bishop Whipple for the Episcopal Church, 716-720.
Porter, H. H., 413.
Potherie, 512, 587.
Pottawattamie Indians, 456, 467.
Poualak Indians, 518.
Prairie du Chien, 132, 204, 235, 236, 403, 420, 534.
Prairie island, 462, 465, 476, 487, 504, 522, 523, 526, 535, 561, 566, 586, 591.
Prairie Sioux, 473, 491, 502, 503, 504, 529, 533, 567.
Pratt, Henry P., 263, 279.
Prescott, Philander, 104, 605, 636; quoted, 637.
Prescott, Wis., 652, 669.
Preston, 38, 42, 297.
Prince, John S., 400, 401, 403, 428.
Prince Society, 450, 453, 587.
Probstfield, Hon. R. M., 12, 13, 14, 16.
Provencalle, Louis, 104, 128.
Prud'homme, L. A., 587.
Pusey, Hon. Pennock, obituary sketch, 872.

Quebec, 451, 474, 516, 588.
Quinn, William L., 605, 613.

Radisson, Marguerite, 451, 566.
Radisson, Peter Esprit, biographic sketch, 451; peculiarities of his writings, 453; a Roman Catholic, 519; portrait, 593.
Radisson, Groseilliers and, the First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-56, and 1659-60, and their Discovery of the Upper Mississipi River, Warren Upham, 449-594.
Raft boats, lake St. Croix, 671.
Rafting logs and lumber, 649, 663-665.
Railroad and warehouse commission, 26-28.
Railroads, Red River valley, 20; freight rates, 25-28; History of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, Gen. Judson W. Bishop, 399-415; First Railroad in Minnesota, Col. William Crooks, 445-448; Five Million Loan Bill, 445, 628; logs brought to Lake St. Croix, 675.
Ramsey, Gov. Alexander, 32, 67, 79, 91, 93, 99; Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 101-129, 137; 174, 265; on state schools, 357, 358, 368, 373; 426, 446, 529, 620, 621; Memorial Addresses in his Honor, 721-766; Statue proposed, 747, 754, 777, 781, 785, 790, 816, 817; obituary sketch, 872.
Ramsey, Mrs. Anna E., 726.
Randall, Dr. A., 253.
Randall, John, 431, 434.
Randall, William H., 428, 435.
Rankin, Albert W., 386.
Ravoux, Father Augustin, 128, 129, 234, 240, 243, 417.
Ray, Col. P. Henry, Preface.
Read's Landing, 297, 314, 333, 334, 663.
Reade, Col. Philip, Preface.
Real Estate in St. Paul, 417-443.
Reaney, Capt. Jack, 149, 153, 159.
Red Iron, Sisseton chief, 109, 115, 127, 604, 610, 746, 764.
Red river, steamboats, 10; Early steamboating, 91-100.
Red River Valley, Wheat raising, 1-33; description of the valley, 1; ceded by treaty, 630.

Red Wing, Missionary Work, 1849 to 1852, Rev. Joseph W. Hancock, 165-178; 225; early newspapers, 280, 295, 296, 323, 331, 350.
Redwood Agency, 92, 139, 140, 602, 609, 611.
Redwood ferry, 598, 816.
Reed, Lathrop E., obituary sketch, 873.
Reform School, 390.
Reno, Major, 66.
Renville, Gabriel, A Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863, 595-613; Biographic sketch, by Samuel J. Brown, 614-618.
Renville, Rev. John B., 600, 603.
Renville, Michael, Daniel, and Isaac, 611, 613.
Renz, F. A., 286, 287.
Reservations, Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 113, 115.
Rhodes, H. C. and A. C., 422, 424.
Rice, Hon. Edmund, 426, 427, 446, 448, 737.
Rice, Hon. Henry M., 66, 166, 191, 240, 244, 259, 296, 373, 400, 422, 426, 427, 434, 435, 683, 687, 737, 777.
Rice and Irvine's Addition, St. Paul, 418, 422, 424, 428, 433.
Richard, Edouard, 576.
Riggs, Rev. Stephen R., 104, 110, 111, 150, 168, 535, 600, 601, 640, 693, 775.
Riheldaffer, Rev. J. G., quoted, 860.
Ripley, Gen. Eleazer W., 182.
Road of war, 534.
Robert, Capt. Louis, 93, 135, 139, 141, 142, 143, 158, 291, 418, 420, 423, 424, 431, 434, 435, 796, 815.
Robert, Louis A., 127.
Robert, Capt. Nelson, 141, 142, 149, 158, 159.
Robertson, Col. D. A., 138, 254, 256, 258, 276, 293, 427, 621.
Robertson, Thomas A., 604, 605.
Robideaux, Magloire, 605.
Robinson, Doane, 535, 588.
Robinson, Thomas, 604, 611.
Robson, Joseph, 588.
Rochester, 38, 314, 325, 348.
Rock Island, Ill., saw mills, 660.
Rogers, Col. George D., History of Flour Manufacture in Minnesota, 35-55.
Rogers, Lt. Col. Henry C., 631.
Rogers, Richard, 39.
Rohrer, Hon. Daniel, obituary sketch, 873.
Rolette, Joseph, 4.
Roos, Capt. Charles L., 40, 790.
Rudolph, John C., 787, 790.
Rum river, 492, 502, 503, 504, 534, 684.
Russell, Capt. Aaron, 159.
Russell, Rev. J. A., 230.
Russell, Jeremiah, 218, 279.
Russell, R. P., 296.
Rutledge, saw mills, 654.
Ryan Hotel, St. Paul, 853.

Sabin, Hon. Dwight M., obituary sketch, 873.
Saganaga lake, 463, 569.
Saint Anthony, 39; first Episcopal churches, 207, 212, 214, 218, 221; first newspapers, 260-350; poll list, 1848, 296.
Saint Anthony falls, 172, 503; Old Government Mills, by Edward A. Bromley, 635-643.
Saint Boniface, Man., 5, 10.
Saint Cloud, flour mills, 44, 50; 94, 99; newspapers, 312, 344; 356; normal school, 367, 445.
Saint Columba mission, 188-190, 197, 698.
Saint Croix Boom Co., 672, 674.
Saint Croix river, 487, 488, 672; Lumbering and Steamboating, Capt. Edward W. Durant, 645-675; state boundary, 684.

Saint Croix valley, churches, 208; Lumbering, 645-675.
Saint James, Minn., 404.
Saint John's College, 356.
Saint Joseph, N. D., 8, 9.
Saint Joseph's Hospital, 244.
Saint Lawrence river, 518, 552, 579.
Saint Louis, saw mills, 657.
Saint Louis river, 554, 684, 686.
Saint Lusson, council with Indians, 537.
Saint Mary's falls; see *Sault.*
Saint Mary's Hall, Faribault, 703-706.
Saint Paul Chapel, 233-245, 650, 695.
Saint Paul, flour mills, 44; in 1850, 91; earliest Episcopal churches, 210; 213, 214, 215, 219, 221, 223; Chapel of St. Paul, and Beginnings of the Catholic Church, 233-245; early journalism, 247-351; schools, 353-398; real estate, 417-443.
Saint Paul and Pacific railroad, 445-448, 629.
Saint Paul and Sioux City railroad, 154; History, by Gen. Judson W. Bishop, 399-415.
Saint Peter, 36, 228, 277, 295, 317, 816.
Saint Peter's river, 131, 138.
Saint Vincent, 20, 23.
Sanborn, Hon. Edward P., 851.
Sanborn, Gen. John B., quoted, 617; The Work of the Second State Legislature, 1859-60, 619-633; Bishop Whipple as a Mediator for the Rights of the Indians in Treaties, 713-715; Introductory Address commemorating Judge Flandrau, 769.
Sanborn, Gen. John B., Memorial Addresses in his Honor, 831-856; obituary sketch, 873.
Sanborn, Hon. Walter H., 851.
Sandy lake, 559.
Santee (Isanti) Sioux, 534.
Sauk Rapids, 218, 220, 279.
Sault Ste. Marie, 463, 466, 480, 481, 515, 529, 537.
Saulteurs (Ojibways), 480, 481, 505, 523, 528.
Saunders, Captain E. C., 801, 813.
Sawmills, Red river valley, 18; falls of St. Anthony, 635-643; St. Croix valley, 649-675; Mississippi valley, 657, 659-662.
Scaife, Dr. Walter B., 544, 560.
Scandinavians, Episcopal services, 222, 229.
Scenery, St. Croix lake and river, 672.
Schofield, Gen. John M., 847.
School of Agriculture, 364, 376-381.
School funds, 358, 394, 731, 766.
Schools, Sioux missions, 168, 173; of Episcopal Church at Faribault, 196, 200, 697-707; first in St. Paul, 210, 244; History of Education in Minnesota, 353-398; normal, 366, 393, 394, 395; of Agriculture, 364, 376-381; for defectives, 387-391; statistics and tabular view, 391, 393-397.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., quoted, 468; 559.
Scouts in the Sioux War, 611-613.
Scull, Gideon D., 449, 450, 457, 458, 573, 587, 588.
Seabury Divinity School, 701, 706.
Second State Legislature, Work of the, Gen. John B. Sanborn, 619-633.
Selenite, 504.
Selkirk, Earl, 2, 3, 4, 132.
Selkirk settlement, 2, 4, 5, 8, 11.
Seminaries, 353-398; tabular view, 397.
Semple, Frank B., obituary sketch, 874.
Seven Corners, St. Paul, 436.
Sewall, Joseph S., 294.
Shakopee (Six), Sioux chief, 135, 137.

Shakopee city, 71, 100, 134, 135, 214. 229, 284, 301, 343, 349, 412.
Shattuck, Dr. George C., 702.
Shattuck School, Faribault, 702, 703, 706.
Shea, John G., 526, 531, 537, 555, 561, 573, 588.
Sheehan, Lieut. T. J., 814.
Shell Lake, Wis., 652.
Sherburne, Judge Moses, 427; Biographic sketch, by Simeon Mills Hayes, 863-866.
Sherman, Gen. Thomas W., 148.
Sheyenne river, 12, 16.
Shields, Gen. James, 623.
Shillock, D. G., 787, 788, 790, 802.
Shovel-nosed sturgeon, 461, 462.
Shumway, Mrs. Augusta M., 702, 703.
Sibley, Gen. H. H., 13, 66, 84, 100, 103, 111, 114, 136, 150, 294, 296, 373, 399, 401, 419, 423, 424, 426, 437, 603, 604, 605, 606, 608, 611, 616, 621, 683, 685, 726, 731, 736, 738, 746, 777, 807, 813, 815, 816, 817, 823, 842, 859.
Sibley's Expedition in 1863, 595, 612, 613.
Simpson, A., cited, 36.
Simpson, J. W., 424.
Simpson, Hon. Thomas, The Early Government Land Surveys west of the Mississippi River, 57-67.
Sinagoes, a band of Ottawa Indians, 473, 527.
Sinclair, Daniel, 286.
Sioux City, Iowa, railroad, 399-415.
Sioux Falls, S. D., 411.
Sioux Indians, 460, 461, 476, 491, 492, 502, 518, 524, 530-535, 693, 713-715, 774; Missionary Work at Red Wing, 1849 to 1852, 165-178; at Faribault, 201, 202; 417.
Sioux Outbreak, 1862, 20, 40, 78-88; 99, 116, 118, 150, 746, 783-818; attack at Hutchinson, 80-84; Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863, by Gabriel Renville, 595-613; Judge Flandrau in the Defense of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, by Major Salmon A. Buell, 783-818.
Sioux Treaties at Traverse des Sioux, 101-129.
Sisseton Sioux, 101, 108, 113, 600, 601.
Sisters of Charity, 5.
Sisters of St. Joseph, 243.
Sivright, D., 82, 83.
Sketches of the History of Hutchinson, Hon. William W. Pendergast, 69-89; of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul, Henry S. Fairchild, 417-443.
Skree, Torgerson, 14.
Sleepy Eye, Sisseton chief, 108, 109, 110, 127.
Smith, A. C., 283, 284.
Smith, Buckingham, 545, 546.
Smith, Hon. Charles K., 250, 373, 424, 425.
Smith, Capt. Orren, 135, 148, 158, 667.
Smith, Hon. Robert, of Illinois, 641, 642, 643.
Smith, Truman M., 294.
Smyser, James, 703.
Snelling, Col. Josiah, 37, 640, 641.
Snelling, Mrs. Josiah, 203.
Snowshoes, 466, 489, 490, 507.
Soldiers' Lodge, Sioux, 115, 601, 603, 746, 764.
South Dakota, Historical Society, 535, 588.
Spencer, John B., obituary sketch, 874.
Spencer, Capt. R. M., 142, 158.
Spirit Lake massacre, 1857, 775.
Stacy, Frank N., History of Flour Manufacture in Minnesota, 35-55.
Stanchfield, Daniel, 297; quoted, 638.

Stannard, Hon. Lucius K., 623.
Staples, Isaac, 658, 672.
Starvation in winter of 1659-60, 487-490, 492, 517.
State Public School, 390.
Statistics, wheat raising, 30; flour manufacture, 43-47, 52-55; state education, 391, 393-397; logs and lumber, St. Croix river, 673-675.
Statue of Governor Ramsey, proposed, 747.
Steamboat building, Red River, 17, 18; St. Croix river, 670-672.
Steamboating, Early, on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, Capt. Edwin Bell, 91-100; on the Minnesota River, Thomas Hughes, 131-163; on lake Superior, 631; on the St. Croix River, Capt. Edward W. Durant, 645-675.
Steamboats on Red river, 10; Crow and Hassan rivers, 78; Minnesota river, 93, 158-163; St. Croix river, 666-670.
Stebbins, Columbus, 326.
Steele, Franklin, 39, 111, 369, 373, 400, 643, 683.
Stein, Adam, 16, 17.
Stevens, Benjamin F., obituary sketch, 874.
Stevens, Hon. F. C., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 755-758.
Stevens, Hon. Hiram F., obituary sketch, 874.
Stevens, Gov. Isaac I., 66.
Stevens, Col. John H., 43, 71, 73, 262, 632; biographic sketch, 328.
Stevens, Simon, 43.
Stevens Seminary, Glencoe, 378.
Stewart, Hon. Jacob H., 628, 631.
Stickney, A. B., 299.
Stickney, Gardner P., 588.
Stillwater, 208, 215, 223, 229; newspapers, 272, 299, 300, 350; 445; saw mills, 649, 655; 668, 859-861.
Stockman, Benjamin, 40.
Stoever, John C., 277, 278.
Stone Fort, Manitoba, 96, 97.
Strong, Pres. James W., 356.
Strout, Capt. Richard, 79, 82.
Sturgeon, shovel-nosed, 461, 462; River of the sturgeon, 514.
Sulte, Benjamin, 457, 589, 590.
Summers, John, obituary sketch, 875.
Superintendents of Public Instruction, 361, 393.
Supreme Court of Minnesota, 773, 776, 821-827, 841.
Surveys, Early, west of the Mississippi river, 57-67.
Sweeny, Dr. Robert O., obituary sketch, 875.
Sweet, Hon. George W., 621.
Sweetser, Madison, 115.
Swift, Gov. Henry A., 731, 785, 787, 789, 790, 801, 803.
Swisshelm, Jane G., 344-347.

Tailhan, Rev. J., 476, 523, 586, 590.
Talcott, Capt. Andrew, 61, 62.
Tanguay, L'Abbe Cyprien, 590.
Tanner, Rev. George C., History of Fort Ripley, 1849 to 1859, based on the Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, D.D., Chaplain of this Post from 1851 to 1859, 179-202; Early Episcopal Churches and Missions in Minnesota, 203-231; Bishop Whipple and the Schools at Faribault, 697-707.
Taopi, a Sioux, 605, 612, 613.
Tapper, Capt. John, 637.
Tatarga Indians, 460, 473, 532, 533, 569.
Taylor, N. C. D., 373.
Taylor, Capt. Oscar, 632.
Taylor, President Zachary, 726.
Teachers of public schools, 365, 367.
Tehan, John F., 251.

Tenney, Mrs. Elizabeth, 179.
Territorial Period, Journalism, 247-351.
Tetons, 533; see *Sioux*.
Texas, 557.
Thomas, Ralph, 788.
Thompson, Horace, 400, 401, 404, 408, 413.
Thompson, J. Edgar, 446.
Three Rivers, 451, 457, 480.
Thurber, J. B., 373.
Thwaites, Reuben G., 119, 457, 578, 590, 591, 593.
Time and Tide, steamboat, 143, 147, 162, 163.
Tinker, William H., 426.
Tintonwans, 533; see *Prairie Sioux*.
Tobacco, used by Indians, 469, 494.
Tobacco tribe of Huron Indians, 469, 518, 522, 526.
Todd, Capt. J. B. S., 179, 182, 185, 190.
Tolman, Dr. Moody C., 632.
Torinus, L. E., 656, 658.
Tousley, Capt. George M., 792, 793, 810.
Tozer, David, 648, 656, 658.
Tracy, Charles F., 216, 224.
Traders, Indian, 105, 106, 111, 114, 730.
Traill, Walter J. S., 13.
Training School, 390.
Traverse des Sioux, Treaties, 101-129; church services, 228; newspaper, 340; 565, 728, 762, 766, 783.
Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, under Governor Ramsey, with Notes of the former Treaty there, in 1841, under Governor Doty, of Wisconsin, by Thomas Hughes, 101-129; 137, 177, 565, 728, 762.
Treaty, Red River Valley ceded, 630, 730, 766.
Turkeys, 461.
Turner, Prof. F. J., 591.
Turquoise, 497, 510, 532.
Tuttle, Calvin A., 296, 642.
Tuttle, Rev. Joseph F., obituary sketch, 875.
Twining, Prof. E. H., 379.
Two Stars, a Sioux, 599, 600, 606, 607, 610, 611, 613.
Tyler, Hugh, 111, 114.

United States Geological Survey, 1.
University of Minnesota, 368-383, 393-396, 627, 826.
Upham, Warren, 1, 570, 591, 783; Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-56, and 1659-60, and their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River, 449-594; Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 765.
Upper Sioux Agency, 139, 143, 596-599, 605, 608.
Utah Commission, 736.

Van Cleve, Mrs. Charlotte O., 37, 203; quoted, 640.
Van Ingen, Rev. John V., 182, 220, 225, 226, 228, 230, 692.
Van Sant, Gov. Samuel R., Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, 753.
Van Vorhes, Abraham, 373.
Van Vorhes, Andrew J., 299, 300.
Varnhagen, Brazilian historian, 541.
Vermillion river, 465.
Verwyst, Rev. Chrysostom, 486, 488, 572, 592.
Vespucci, Amerigo, 538, 540-542, 558, 561.
Vevaldi, Father, 187.
Vicksburg, Siege of, 846.
Villard, Henry, 430.
Vincent, J. W., 259.

Wabasha, Sioux chief, 605.
Wabasha, Minn., 333, 334, 350.

Wahpeton Sioux, 101, 109, 110, 113, 135, 597, 600, 601.
Wahpeton, N. D., 23, 309.
Waldseemuller, 540, 541.
Walhalla, N. D., 8, 9.
Walker, Orange, 650.
Wallace, Pres. James, 355.
Wambach, Jacob, 12, 14.
Warren, Gen. G. K., 155.
Warren, William W., 529, 530, 535.
Washburn, Gov. C. C., 52, 53.
Washburn, W. W., 373, 393.
Washburn flour mills, 45, 48-53.
Wasioja, 322.
Watab, Minn., 259, 304.
Watab river, 112.
Wayne, Anthony, steamboat, 134, 135, 158, 162.
Wazi-oju (Zumbro) river, 65.
Weather records at Fort Ripley, 187, 199, 200.
Webber, Capt. J. V., 148, 159.
Webber, John, 152.
Wells, Hon. Henry R., 301, 339.
Weschcke, Dr. Carl, 809, 829.
West, Emily J., 194.
West Newton, steamboat, 139.
West Saint Paul, 442.
Weyerhaeuser, Frederick, 652, 654, 661.
Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley, 1-33; in the Minnesota Valley, 149, 154.
Wheelock, Hon. Joseph A., 44, 52, 257, 272, 275; quoted, on early journalism, 351; 428, 440, 625, 737, 762, 763.
Whipple, Bishop Henry B., 201, 204, 618; Memorial Addresses in his Honor, 689-720; obituary sketch, 875.
Whiskey, evil effects, 174-176.
Whitcomb, Capt. George C., 79.
Whiting, Capt. Sam, 273, 274, 276, 347.
Whitmore, Willard S., 300.
Wilcoxson, Rev. Timothy, diary, 210; 212, 216, 222, 223, 225-230, 697.
Wild rice, 487, 493, 510.
Wilder, Amherst H., 401, 404, 408.
Wilder, Judge Eli T., obituary sketch, 876.
Wilder, Minn., Breck School, 706.
Wilkinson, Hon. M. S., 428, 623, 737, 844.
Williams, Henry L., obituary sketch, 876.
Williams, J. Fletcher, cited, 212; as a journalist, 265, 440.
Williams, Martin, 295.
Williamson, Rev. T. S., 111, 133, 150, 168, 198, 354, 597, 693.
Willow river, 193.
Willow River, saw mills, 654.
Willson, Beckles, 592, 593.
Wilmot Proviso, 726.
Winchell, Prof. Alexander N., Minnesota's Eastern, Southern, and Western Boundaries, 677-687.
Winchell, Prof. N. H., 593.
Windmills, 7, 36, 40.
Winnebago Indians, 65, 102, 142, 151, 169, 170, 181, 206, 475, 495, 501, 528, 533, 630, 693, 803, 804, 813.
Winneshiek, 65.
Winnipeg, Man., 16, 98.
Winona, Minn., newspapers, 273, 283, 285, 347, 350; normal school, 366; 445, 627; saw mills, 659, 660.
Winsor, Justin, 540, 541, 583, 593.
Winter, E. W., 413.
Wisconsin Historical Society, 593, 594.
Wisconsin river, 462, 464, 523, 553.
Wisconsin Territory, 680; admission to statehood, 682-684, 859.
Wolff, Albert, 288, 289, 317.

Wood Lake, battle, 606, 815.
Work of the Second State Legislature, Gen. John B. Sanborn, 619-633; 833-835, 843, 844.
Wowinapa (son of Little Crow), 88, 89.
Wyandot Indians, 526.
Wyman, Hon. James T., 635, 643.

X. Y. Fur Company, 2, 3.

Yankee, steamboat, 136, 158.
Yellow Medicine Agency, 139, 143, 596-599, 605, 608.
Yellow Medicine river, 100, 113, 143, 596-598, 607, 613, 693.
Young, Harry H., 292.
Young, Judge Richard M., 115.

Zumbro river, origin of name, 64.

S0-BTN-855